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MATERIALS
FOR THE STUDY OF
THE BÁBÍ RELIGION

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در دیارِ خطِ شهِ صاحبِ عَلَم
بندهٔ بابِ بها مشکین قلم

Mushkín Qalam.

To face p. 44.

MATERIALS
FOR THE STUDY OF
THE BÁBÍ RELIGION

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COMPILED BY

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ERRATA

The descriptions of Sections VIII and XI should stand as given in the Table of Contents on the preceding page, and not as in their respective titles on pp. 309 and 341.

INTRODUCTION

NEARLY thirty years have elapsed since I first established direct relations with the Bábís in Persia, having already become deeply interested in their history and doctrines through the lively and graphic narrative of the Comte de Gobineau in his classical work *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*. Subsequently (in the spring of 1890) I visited Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal* ("the Dawn of Eternity") and Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí *Bahá'u'lláh* ("the Splendour of God"), the respective heads of the two rival parties into which the original community had split, at Famagusta in Cyprus and at 'Akká (St Jean d'Acre) in Syria; and from that time until now I have maintained more or less continuous relations with both parties through various channels. Fresh and fuller materials for the study of Bábí history and doctrine have continued to flow into my hands through these channels, until, apart from what I had utilized fully or in part in previous publications[1], a considerable

[1] The more important of these publications, arranged in chronological order, are as follows. (1) *The Bábís of Persia*: i. Sketch of their History and Personal Experiences amongst them; ii. Their Literature and Doctrines (*J.R.A.S.*, Vol. xxi, 1889). (2) *A Traveller's Narrative etc.*, Persian text and English translation, 2 vols. (Camb. Univ. Press, 1891). (3) *Some Remarks on the Bábí Text edited by Baron V. Rosen* (*J.R.A.S.*, Vol. xxiv, 1892). (4) *Catalogue and Description of* 27 *Bábí Manuscripts* (*J.R.A.S.*, Vol. xxiv, 1892). (5) *A Year amongst*

amount of new and unpublished matter had accumulated in my hands. Much of this matter, consisting of manuscript and printed documents in various Eastern and Western languages, could only be interpreted in connection with the correspondence relating to it, and would inevitably, I felt, be lost if I did not myself endeavour to record it in an intelligible form, capable of being used by future students of this subject. Hence the origin of this book, which, if somewhat lacking in coherence and uniformity, will, I believe, be of value to anyone who shall in the future desire to study more profoundly a movement which, even if its practical and political importance should prove to be less than I had once thought, will always be profoundly interesting to students of Comparative Religion and the history of Religious Evolution.

The book, in the form which it has finally assumed, comprises eleven more or less independent sections, about each of which something must be said.

Section I (pp. 3—112) is a translation into English of a short historical and biographical sketch of the Bábí movement, of the life of Bahá'u'lláh, of the further schism which succeeded his death, and of the Bahá'í propaganda in America, written in Arabic by Mírzá Muḥammad Jawád of Qazwín, by whom the original, and, I believe, unpublished manuscript was transmitted to me. I was not personally

the Persians (A. and C. Black, 1893). (6) *The Ta'ríkh-i-Jadíd or New History of...the Báb*, translation (Camb. Univ. Press, 1893). (7) *Personal Reminiscences of the Bábí Insurrection at Zanján in* 1850, translated from the Persian (*J.R.A.S.*, Vol. xxix, 1897). (8) *The Kitáb-i-Nuqṭatu'l-Káf*, being the earliest history of the Bábís, compiled by Ḥájji Mírzá Jání of Káshán: Persian text with Introduction in English (*E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series*, Vol. xv, 1910). Also articles on *Bábís* in the Supplement to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and Hastings' *Dictionary of Religions*.

acquainted with the author, but his son, Mírzá Ghulámu'lláh, paid me a visit of several days at Cambridge in January, 1901, on his way to the United States. Both belong to that section of the Bahá'ís, called by themselves "Unitarians" (*Ahlu't-Tawḥíd*, *Muwaḥḥidún*) and by their opponents "Covenant-breakers" (*Náqiḍún*), who reject the claims of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá (whom the majority of the Bahá'ís recognize as their head) and follow his half-brother, Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí. From incidental remarks in the narrative we learn that the author, Mírza Muḥammad Jawád, was at Baghdád (p. 15) about 1862 or a little earlier, shortly before the removal of the leading Bábís thence to Adrianople; that he was with them at Adrianople (pp. 25, 27, 28) for rather more than a year before Bahá'u'lláh was transferred thence to 'Akká in August, 1868; that he was Bahá'u'lláh's fellow-passenger on the steamer which conveyed him from Gallipoli to Ḥayfá (p. 32); that he was at 'Akká in January, 1872 when Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán and the other Azalís were assassinated (pp. 54–5) and also at the time of, or soon after, Bahá'u'lláh's death on May 28, 1892, when he was one of the nine Companions chosen by 'Abbás Efendi to hear the reading of the "Testament" or "Covenant," (p. 75). We also learn (pp. 35–6) that he was one of several Bábís arrested at Tabríz about the end of 1866 or beginning of 1867, when, more fortunate than some of his companions, he escaped with a fine. This is the only mention he makes of being in Persia, and it is probable that from this date onwards he was always with Bahá'u'lláh, first at Adrianople and then at 'Akká, where, so far as I know, he is still living, and where his son Mírzá Ghulámu'lláh was born and brought up. Since the entry of Turkey into the European War in November, 1914, it has, of course, been impossible to communicate with 'Akká, or to obtain news from thence.

Mírzá Jawád's narrative is valuable on account of the numerous dates which it gives, and because it comes down to so late a date as March, 1908 (p. 90), while Nabíl's chronological poem (see p. 357) stops short at the end of 1869. The value of his account of the propaganda carried on in the United States of America by Dr I. G. Khayru'lláh has been somewhat discounted by this gentleman's recent publication of his autobiography in his book *O Christians! why do ye believe not in Christ?* (p. 181), which reached me only after this portion of my book was already in type.

Section II (pp. 115—171) deals more fully with the Bahá'í propaganda carried on in America since 1893 by Dr I. G. Khayru'lláh and his converts with remarkable success. Of the methods employed an illuminating account (pp. 116—142) is given by an American lady of enquiring mind who attended the classes of instruction in a sympathetic but critical spirit. Her notes show very clearly the adaptation of the Bahá'í doctrine to its new environment in a manner which can hardly fail to remind the Orientalist of the old Isma'ílí propaganda, still further recalled by the form of allegiance (p. 121) which the neophyte is obliged to sign before he is fully initiated into the details of the new doctrine. Extracts from the American Press in the years 1902—4 are cited to show how much attention, and even in some quarters alarm, was aroused by the success of the new doctrines. Khayru'lláh's narrative (pp. 154—5) of the threats addressed to him on account of his apostasy from 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá by Mírzá Ḥasan-i-Khurásání, and the history of the sad fate of Mírzá Yaḥyá at Jedda (pp. 156—167) read like extracts from the history of the Assassins of Alamút and "the Old Man of the Mountain."

Section III (pp. 175—243) contains a bibliography of

everything written by or about the Bábís and Bahá'ís in eastern or western languages which has come under my notice since the publication of the bibliography in Vol. II of my *Traveller's Narrative* in 1891, and of my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts* in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1892. This supplementary bibliography contains descriptions of 49 printed works in European languages (English, French, German and Russian), 18 printed and lithographed works in Arabic and Persian, and between 30 and 40 Bábí, Azalí and Bahá'í books which exist only in manuscript. Nearly all of these are in my own library, and in many cases were presented to me by their authors or by kind friends who knew of the interest I felt in the subject, but in the case of the manuscripts I have included brief descriptions of a number of books (mostly obtained from Cyprus through the late Mr Claude Delaval Cobham, for whom they were copied by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son Riẓwán 'Alí, *alias* "Constantine the Persian") belonging to the British Museum, which were examined and described for me by my friend and former colleague Dr Aḥmad Khán. For several rare manuscript works I am indebted to an old Bábí scribe of Iṣfahán, resident at Ṭihrán, with whom I was put in communication by Dr Sa'íd Khán of Hamadán, who, though coming of a family of *mullás*, is a fervent Christian, while preserving in true Persian fashion a keen interest in other religious beliefs. This old scribe, a follower of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, seems to have been in close touch with many Bábís in all parts of Persia, and on several occasions when persecutions threatened or broke out to have been entrusted by them with the custody of books which they feared to keep in their own houses, and which in some cases they failed to reclaim, so that he had access to a large number of rare Bábí works, any of which he was willing to copy for me at a very moderate charge.

Section IV (pp. 247—264) contains the text and translation, with photographic *fac-similes*, of three original Persian documents connected with the examination and condemnation of the Báb for heresy, one of which appears to show that he formally abjured all his claims, and begged for mercy and forgiveness. These are followed by two English documents penned by the late Dr Cormick of Tabríz, one of which gives the impression produced on him by the Báb, whom he was called in to see professionally. I do not know of any other European who saw and conversed with the Báb, or, if such there were, who has recorded his impressions.

Section V (pp. 267—271) contains a moving account by an Austrian officer, Captain von Goumoens, who was in the service of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh in the summer of 1852, of the horrible cruelties inflicted on the Bábís in the great persecution of that period which resulted from the attempt by three Bábís on the Sháh's life; cruelties so revolting that he felt himself unable to continue any longer in the service of a ruler who sanctioned them.

Section VI (pp. 275—287) contains the *fac-similes*, texts and translations of two Persian State papers bearing on the negotiations between the Persian and Turkish Governments as to the removal of the Bábí leaders from Baghdád to a part of the Ottoman Empire more remote from the Persian frontier. These documents were kindly communicated to me by M. A.-L.-M. Nicolas, a French diplomatist who has devoted much attention to the history and doctrine of the Bábís, and whose father is well known to Persian students as the first to introduce to Europe the now celebrated quatrains of 'Umar-i-Khayyám.

Section VII (pp. 291—308) contains accounts received at the time from various correspondents as to the persecutions of Bábís at Iṣfahán and the neighbouring villages of Si-dih

and Najafábád in 1888—9, and at Yazd in May, 1891. For these accounts I am indebted to the late Dr Robert Bruce, Mr Sidney Churchill, Mr (now Sir) Walter Townley, 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá, his brother Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, and two other Bahá'ís, one actually resident at Yazd at the time of the persecution. To another horrible persecution of Bábís in the same town in the summer of 1903 sóme references will be found in the Rev. Napier Malcolm's illuminating work *Five Years in a Persian Town* (pp. 155—6, 186 etc.).

Section VIII (pp. 311—315) contains the translation of an account of the death and burial of Mírzá Yaḥyá Ṣubḥ-i-Azal on Monday, April 29, 1912, written in Persian by his son Riẓwán 'Alí *alias* "Constantine the Persian," and also some further information on matters connected with the succession kindly furnished to me by Mr H. C. Lukach, to whom I am further indebted for permission to reproduce here two photographs of the funeral which he published in his book *The Fringe of the East*; for which permission I desire to express my sincere gratitude both to him and his publishers, Messrs Macmillan.

Section IX (pp. 319—322) contains a list of the descendants of Mírzá Buzurg of Núr in Mázandarán, the father of both Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, of which the original Persian, drawn up by a younger member of the family, was sent to me by the Bábí scribe already mentioned (p. xi *supra*). This is followed by lists of the children of Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal compiled from other trustworthy sources.

Section X (pp. 325—339) contains a condensed summary in English of a portion of the polemical work *Iḥqáqu'l-Ḥaqq* dealing with the principal doctrines of the Bábís and Bahá'ís deemed heretical by the Shí'a Muḥammadans. I have sometimes been reproached with having written so much more about the history of the Bábís than about their doctrines,

though I hope that the Introduction to my edition of Ḥájji Mírzá Jání's *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf*[1] has in some degree removed this reproach. But the fact is that, though the synthesis may be original, almost every single doctrine held by the Bábís and Bahá'ís (and their doctrine, even on such important matters as the Future Life, is by no means fixed and uniform) was previously held and elaborated by one or another of the earlier cognate sects grouped together under the general title of *Ghulát*, whereof the Isma'ílís are the most notable representative. The *Iḥqáqu'l-Ḥaqq*, which shows a much better knowledge of the opinions which it aspires to refute than most polemical works directed against the Bábís, summarizes in a convenient form the most salient points of doctrine in which the Bábís differ from the Shí'a Muḥammadans.

Section XI (pp. 343—358), which concludes the volume, contains the texts, accompanied in some cases by translations, of one unpublished and two already published poems by Qurratu'l-'Ayn and of two poems by Nabíl of Zarand. I should like to have enlarged this section by the addition of other Bábí poems in my possession, especially of the *Qaṣída-i-Alifiyya* of Mírzá Aslam of Núr (see pp. 228—9), but the book had already considerably exceeded the limits which I had assigned to it, and I regretfully postponed their publication to some future occasion.

As regards the illustrations, the originals from which they are taken have in several cases been in my possession for many years, but I desire here to express my thanks to Dr Ignaz Goldziher for the two American newspapers partly reproduced on the plates facing pp. 151 and 152; to M. Hippolyte Dreyfus for the three documents (*A.*, *B.*, and *B*[1].) bearing on the

[1] Vol. xv of the *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series*.

examination of the Báb; to M. A.-L.-M. Nicolas for the two Persian State papers dealing with the expulsion of the Bábís from Baghdád; to Mr H. C. Lukach and his publishers Messrs Macmillan for their kind permission to reproduce the two illustrations mentioned above (p. xiii), and to my old friend and colleague Mr Ellis H. Minns, who has given me valuable help in connection with the Russian books mentioned in the bibliography.

In conclusion I desire to add a few words as to what I conceive to be the special interest and importance of the study of the Bábí and Bahá'í movements. This interest is in the main threefold, to wit, political, ethical and historical, and I shall arrange what I have to say under these three headings.

1. *Political interest.*

The original Bábís who fought so desperately against the Persian Government at Shaykh Ṭabarsí, Zanján, Nayríz and elsewhere in 1848—50 aimed at a Bábí theocracy and a reign of the saints on earth; they were irreconcilably hostile to the existing government and Royal Family, and were only interested for the most part in the triumph of their faith, not in any projects of social or political reform.

Of their attitude during the Baghdád and Adrianople periods (1852—63 and 1863—68) we know little, and the anxiety of the Persian Foreign Office as to their activities in the former place is sufficiently explained by fear of the propaganda which they were so easily able to carry on amongst the innumerable Persians who passed through it on their way to and from the Holy Shrines of Najaf and Karbalá.

After the schism and the banishment of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal to Famagusta in Cyprus, and of Bahá'u'lláh to 'Akká in Syria,

we have to distinguish between the activities of the two rival parties. The Azalís, from the first a minority, were much more cut off from external activity than the Bahá'ís. They represented what may be called the conservative party, and experience shows that with such religious bodies as the Bábís fresh manifestations of activity and developments of doctrine are essential to maintain and increase their vitality. The same phenomenon was witnessed again in the further schism which took place after the death of Bahá'u'lláh in 1892; the conservative tendencies represented by Muḥammad 'Ali could not hold their own against the innovations of his more able and energetic half-brother 'Abbas Effendí 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who since the beginning of this century commands the allegiance of the vast majority of the Bahá'ís both in the East and in the West.

That the Bahá'ís constituted a great potential political force in Persia when I was there in 1887—8 was to me self-evident. Their actual numbers were considerable (Lord Curzon estimated them at the time he wrote[1] at nearer a million than half a million souls), their intelligence and social position were above the average, they were particularly well represented in the postal and telegraph services, they were well disciplined and accustomed to yield a ready devotion and obedience to their spiritual leaders, and their attitude towards the secular and ecclesiastical rulers of Persia was hostile or at least indifferent. Any Power which, by conciliating their Supreme Pontiff at 'Akká, could have made use of this organization in Persia might have established an enormous influence in that country, and though the valuable researches of the late Baron Victor Rosen and Captain Tumanskiy were no doubt chiefly inspired by scientific curiosity, there may have been, at any rate in the

[1] *Persia* (London, 1892), Vol. i, p. 499.

case of the latter gentleman, some *arrière-pensée* of a political character. At any rate the Russian Government showed a good deal of civility to the Bahá'ís[1] of 'Ishqábád (Askabad), where they allowed or encouraged them to build a *Mashriqu'l-Adhkár*, or place of worship, which was, I believe, the first of its kind ever erected; and when a leading Bahá'í was murdered there by fanatics from Mashhad, the Russian authorities condemned the assassins to death, though subsequently, at the intercession of the Bahá'ís, their sentence was commuted to hard labour in the Siberian mines. That Bahá'u'lláh was not insensible to these amenities is clearly apparent from two letters filled with praises of the Russian Government which he addressed to his followers shortly afterwards, and which were published by Baron Rosen, together with an account of the circumstances above referred to, in Vol. vi of the *Collections Scientifiques*[2]. If the statement (on p. 11 *infra*) that Colonel (afterwards Sir) Arnold Burrows Kemball, when British Consul-General at Baghdád about 1859, offered British protection to Bahá'u'lláh be true, this would account for the laudatory tone adopted by him in the epistle which he addressed to Queen Victoria. None of the other rulers addressed in the "Epistles to the Kings" come off so well, and for Napoleon III in particular disaster is clearly foretold. Germany fares no better than France, being thus apostrophized in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*:

"*O banks of the river Rhine, We have seen you drenched in gore for that the swords of the foes are drawn against you;*

[1] Already in 1852 the Russian Minister at Ṭihrán had intervened in Bahá'u'lláh's favour (see pp. 6—7 *infra*), for which intervention Bahá'u'lláh expresses his gratitude in the Epistle to the Tsar of Russia (*J.R.A.S.* for 1889, p. 969).

[2] See also my *Remarks* on these texts in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1892, pp. 318—321.

and you shall have another turn! And we hear the wail of Berlin, although it be to-day in conspicuous glory!"[1]

The occasion of this outburst, according to Roemer[2], was the omission of the then Crown-Prince of Prussia Friedrich Wilhelm to pay his respects to Bahá'u'lláh when he visited Palestine in the autumn of 1869. In the main, however, Bahá'u'lláh wisely avoided any political entanglements, and indeed sought rather to conciliate the Sháh and the Persian government, and to represent such persecutions of his followers as took place in Persia as the work of fanatical theologians whom the government were unable to restrain. The Azalís, on the other hand, preserved the old Bábí tradition of unconquerable hostility to the Persian throne and government.

In the Persian Constitutional or National Movement dating from the end of 1905 the Azalís and Bahá'ís were, as usual, in opposite camps. Officially 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá commanded his followers to abstain entirely from politics, while in private he compared the demand of the Persians for parliamentary government to that of unweaned babes for strong meat. Some of the leading Bahá'ís in Ṭihrán, however, were accused, whether justly or not, of actually favouring the reaction[3]. In any case their theocratic and international tendencies can hardly have inspired them with any very active sympathy with the Persian Revolution. The Azalís, on the other hand, though they cannot be said to have any collective policy, as individuals took a very prominent part in the National Movement even before the Revolution, and such men as Ḥájji Shaykh Aḥmad

[1] See *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, p. 977.

[2] *Die Bâbî-Behâ'î* (Potsdam, 1911), p. 108.

[3] See Roemer, *op. cit.* pp. 153—8, and my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 424—9.

"Rúḥí" of Kirmán, son-in-law to Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, and his friend and fellow-townsman Mírzá Áqá Khán, both of whom suffered death at Tabríz in 1896, were the fore-runners of Mírzá Jahángír Khán and the Maliku'l-Mutakallimín, who were victims of the reactionary *coup d'état* of June, 1908. Indeed, as one of the most prominent and cultivated Azalís admitted to me some six or seven years ago, the ideal of a democratic Persia developing on purely national lines seems to have inspired in the minds of no few leading Azalís the same fiery enthusiasm as did the idea of a reign of the saints on earth in the case of the early Bábís.

The political ideals of the Bahá'ís have undergone considerable evolution since their propaganda achieved such success in America, where they have come into more or less close connection with various international, pacifist and feminist movements. These tendencies were, however, implicit in Bahá'u'lláh's teachings at a much earlier date, as shown by the recommendation of a universal language and script in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*, the exaltation of humanitarianism over patriotism, the insistence on the brotherhood of all believers, irrespective of race or colour, and the ever-present idea of "the Mōst Great Peace" (*Ṣulḥ-i-Akbar*). In connection with the last it is interesting to note that Dr I. G. Khayru'lláh, "the second Columbus" and "Bahá's Peter" as he was entitled after his successes in America, definitely stated in his book *Behá'u'lláh*, originally published at Chicago in 1899 (Vol. ii, pp. 480—1), that "the Most Great Peace" would come in the year 1335 of the *Hijra*, which began on October 28, 1916, and ended on October 17, 1917. This forecast, based on Daniel xii, 12, "*Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the end of the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days*," has, unfortunately, not been realized, but the paragraph in which Khayru'lláh speaks of the frightful

war which must precede "the Most Great Peace" is so remarkable, when one remembers that it was written fifteen years before the outbreak of the Great War, that I cannot refrain from quoting it.

"In testimony of the fulfilment of His Word, the Spirit of God is impelling mankind toward that outcome with mighty speed. As the prophet indicated, the final condition in which peace shall be established must be brought about by unparalleled violence of war and bloodshed, which any observer of European affairs at the present day can see rapidly approaching. History is being written at tremendous speed, human independence is precipitating the final scenes in the drama of blood which is shortly destined to drench Europe and Asia, after which the world will witness the dawn of millennial peace, the natural, logical and prophetical outcome of present human conditions."

And again two pages further on (p. 483) he says:

"Although the thousand years began with the departure of the Manifestation[1] in 1892, the commencement of the 'Great Peace' will be in 1917."

He also quotes Guinness as having written (in 1886)[2]: "The secret things belong to God. It is not for us to say. But there can be no question that those who live to see this year 1917 will have reached one of the most important, perhaps the most momentous, of these terminal years of crisis."

2. *Ethical interest.*

While ethical teaching occupies a very subordinate place in the writings of the Báb and his disciples, it constitutes the chief part of the Bahá'í teachings. Sir Cecil Spring-Rice,

[1] *i.e.* the death of Bahá'u'lláh.

[2] *Light for the Last Days* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1886), pp. 345—6. The reference (p. 224) given by Khayru'lláh is evidently to a different edition.

formerly British Minister at Ṭihrán, who had the most extraordinary insight into the Persian mind, made one of the most illuminating remarks I ever heard in this connection. He pointed out most truly that the problem which Bahá'u'lláh had to solve was a far greater one than any mere question of claims of succession, and was essentially the same as that which confronted St Paul, *viz.* whether the new religion which he represented was to become a world religion addressed to all mankind, or whether it was to remain a more or less obscure sect of the religion from which it sprang. *Mutatis mutandis* the strife between Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal was essentially identical with the strife between St Paul and St Peter, though in the former case the resulting separation was even greater, and the Bahá'ís regard the Báb as a mere fore-runner and harbinger of the greater Manifestation, and his writings and teachings as practically abrogated, for which reason they no longer willingly suffer themselves to be called Bábís, a name which was still almost universally applied to them in Persia by those who were not members of their body at any rate when I was there in 1887—8.

Of the ethical teaching of Bahá'u'lláh numerous specimens are given in this volume (pp. 64—73 *infra*) and many more have been published in English by the American "Bahá'í Publishing Society[1]" and elsewhere. These teachings are in themselves admirable, though inferior, in my opinion, both in beauty and simplicity to the teachings of Christ. Moreover, as it seems to me, ethics is only the application to everyday life of religion and metaphysics, and to be effective must be supported by some spiritual sanction; and in the case of Bahá'ism, with its rather vague doctrines as to

[1] Address: 84, Adams Street, Chicago; or, Charles E. Sprague, Publishing Agent for the Bahá'ís' Board of Counsel, 191, Williams Street, New York.

the nature and destiny of the soul of man, it is a little difficult to see whence the driving-power to enforce the ethical maxims can be derived. I once heard Mr G. Bernard Shaw deliver an address to a branch of the Fabian Society on "The Religion of the Future." In this lecture he said that he was unwilling that the West should any longer be content to clothe itself in what he called "the rags of Oriental systems of religion"; that he wanted a good, healthy Western religion, recognizing the highest type of humanity as the Superman, or, if the term was preferred, as God; and that, according to this conception, man was ever engaged in "creating God." As I listened I was greatly struck by the similarity of his language to that employed by the Bahá'ís[1], and was diverted by the reflection that, strive as he would, this brilliant modern thinker of the West could not evolve a religion which the East had not already formulated. Yet it would be an error to regard Bahá'ism merely as an ethical system, as is already shown by the opening verse of the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*:—"*The first thing which God hath prescribed unto His servants is the recognition of the Dawning-place of His Revelation and the Day-spring of His Dispensation. Whosoever attaineth unto Him hath attained unto all good, and whosoever is hindered therefrom is in truth of the people of error, even though he bring forth all good works.*"

3. *Historical interest.*

But the chief interest of the study of the Bábí and Bahá'í movements is, as it seems to me, neither political nor ethical, but historical, because of the light it throws on the genesis and evolution of other religions. Renan emphasized this in

[1] Cf. p. 346 *infra*, n. 1 *ad calc.*; and p. 211 of my *Year amongst the Persians*.

his work *Les Apôtres*, and it was he, I think, who said that to understand the genesis and growth of a new religion one must go to the East where religions still grow. And this holds good particularly of Persia, which has ever been the fertile breeding-ground of new creeds and philosophies from the time of Zoroaster, Manes and Mazdak to the present day. It would be interesting to compute how many of the "seventy-two sects" into which Islám is supposed to be divided owe their existence wholly or in part to the theological activity of the Persian mind.

The phenomena actually presented by Bábíism are often such as one would not *primâ facie* expect. In spite of the official denial of the necessity, importance or evidential value of miracles in the ordinary sense, numerous miracles are recorded in Bábí histories like the *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf* and the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jadíd*, and many more are related by adherents of the faith. The most extraordinary diversity of opinion exists as to doctrines which one would be inclined to regard as fundamental, such as those connected with the future life. A similar diversity of opinion prevails as to the authorship of various Bábí books and poems, though the beginnings of Bábí literature only go back to 1844 or 1845. The earliest, fullest and most interesting history of the Báb and his immediate disciples (that of Ḥájji Mírzá Jání of Káshán[1]) was almost completely suppressed because it reflected the opinion which prevailed immediately after the Báb's martyrdom that his successor was Mírzá Yaḥyá Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, and thus came into conflict with the Bahá'í contention which arose ten or fifteen years later, and a recension of it was prepared (known as "the New History," *Ta'ríkh-i-Jadíd*) in

[1] The *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf*, edited by me in the *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series* (Vol. xv) from the Paris MS., the only complete one extant in Europe.

which all references to Ṣubḥ-i-Azal were eliminated or altered, and other features regarded as undesirable were suppressed or modified. Later a third official history, "The Traveller's Narrative," *Maqála-i-Shakhṣí Sayyáḥ*[1], in which the Báb was represented as a mere forerunner of Bahá'u'lláh, was issued from 'Akká, and subsequently lithographed to secure its wider diffusion, while the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jadíd*, of which not more than three or four copies exist in Europe, was suffered to remain in manuscript. Certain critical Christian theologians have seen in Ḥájji Mírzá Jání's history in its relation to the later narratives a close parallel to the Gospel of St Mark in its relation to the synoptic gospels.

Of the future of Bahá'ism it is difficult to hazard a conjecture, especially at the present time, when we are more cut off from any trustworthy knowledge of what is happening in the world than at any previous period for many centuries. Less than a month ago the centenary of Bahá'u'lláh's birth was celebrated in America, whither his teachings have spread only within the last twenty years, but what influence they have attained or may in the future attain there or elsewhere it is impossible to conjecture.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

December 10, 1917.

[1] Edited by me with English translation and notes in 1891.

The Bahai Assembly

of Chicago

cordially invites you to participate

in the celebration of the

One Hundredth Anniversary

of the birth of

Baha'o 'llah

to be held at the

Auditorium Hotel

from November the tenth to

the twelfth inclusive

Nineteen Hundred Seventeen

Fac-simile of Invitation to the Centenary of Bahá'u'lláh's birth on Nov. 10—12, 1917.

To face p. xxiv.

1817 Bahá'u'lláh 1917

IN this age, BAHA'O'LLAH has breathed the Holy Spirit into the dead body of the world. Consequently, every weak soul is strengthened by those divine outbreathings. Every poor man will become rich, every darkened soul will become illumined, every ignorant one will become wise, because the confirmations of the Holy Spirit are descending like unto torrents. A new era of divine consciousness is upon us. The world of humanity is going through a process of transformation. A new race is being developed. The thoughts of human brotherhood are permeating the depths of hearts and a new spirit of universal consciousness is being profoundly felt by all men.

From the Utterances of
ABDUL-BAHA

1817 Baha'o'llah 1917

PROGRAM

CENTENNIAL FESTIVAL

Saturday evening, at six o'clock

CINEMATOGRAPH EXHIBITION

Abdul-Baha in America

(Castle Theater, State and Madison Streets)

Sunday morning, at nine o'clock

BAHA'O'LLAH'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD CIVILIZATION

Sunday afternoon, at half past three o'clock

SERVICE ON THE MASHRAK-EL-AZKAR GROUNDS AT WILMETTE

Monday morning, at half past ten o'clock

(weather permitting)

CONVENTION OF TEACHING

Monday afternoon, at three o'clock

THE MASHRAK-EL-AZKAR IN AMERICA

Monday evening, at eight o'clock

I

AN EPITOME OF BÁBÍ AND BAHÁ'Í HISTORY TO A.D. 1898, TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ARABIC OF MÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD JAWÁD OF QAZWÍN

The Beginning is in the Name of the Eternal Lord, whom I praise, and whose Word I glorify, and whose Grace I thank, since He hath taught me by His Wisdom that wherein is my deliverance, my salvation, and my life in His Everlasting Kingdom. I ask Him to strengthen me in the service of His Pure Law, to endow me with stedfastness, and to fortify me, so that I may ever devote myself, according to His commands, to that which is of service to my fellow-creatures, and of advantage to me and my brethren both Here and Hereafter. Verily He is the Almighty, the Inspirer, the Helper!

On the 2nd of Muḥarram A.H. 1233 (November 12, 1817) was born our Great Master His Holiness BAHÁ'U'LLÁH (to whom be Glory!). His original name was Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí, son of the well-known Sayyid Mírzá 'Abbás, one of the Ministers of the Royal Court of Persia, entitled "Mírzá Buzurg," a native of the district of Núr in the province of Mázandarán, one of the provinces of *Persia. He was born in Ṭihrán, the metropolis of the Persians.

Birth of Bahá'u'lláh, Nov. 12, 1817.

When he reached twenty-seven years of age there appeared His Holiness the Harbinger, whose noble name was Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, and who is entitled the *Báb* and the First Point (*Nuqṭa-i-Úlá*), who declared himself to be

"Manifestation" of the Báb, May 24, 1844.

* page 2.

the Promised *Qá'im* (He who shall arise) and the Mahdí, whose advent is expected in Islám. This event happened on the 5th of Jumádá I, A.H. 1260 (May 24, 1844).

"He whom God shall manifest" foretold by the Báb.

From the very beginning of his Manifestation, the Báb began to give good tidings of the imminence of some Great Event and the advent of some Promised Benefactor, of whom he made mention in his writings with great emphasis, even as John the Baptist foretold the appearance of the Lord Christ, whom he mentions with the utmost veneration and respect in the Gospel of Matthew, ch. iii, verse 11: "I baptize you with the Water of Repentance, but He who cometh after me is stronger than I, whose shoes I am unworthy to bear, He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and Fire." And he (the Báb) gives good tidings to his followers of the Universal Manifestation, whom he describes as "He whom God shall manifest," or "He who shall appear," which expression is contained in most of his writings. He lays great stress on His celebration, description and Manifestation, while he himself, notwithstanding his claim to the highest of stations, reckons himself only a servant in relation to Him so mentioned and described. Moreover this announcement was continued from the beginning of his Manifestation (in A.D. 1844) until

The Báb put to death at Tabríz on July 8, 1850.

he was crucified in the city of Tabríz, the chief town of the province of Ázarbáyján, together with one of his disciples, Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, a native of Zanwaz near Tabríz, on the 28th of Shábán, 1266 (July 8, 1850). But since the author of the abridged history entitled *A Traveller's Narrative*[1] has recorded the details of the birth

[1] The Persian text of this work, which has been ascribed to 'Abbás Efendi, together with an English translation and copious historical

of His Holiness the Harbinger (*i.e.* the Báb), his Manifestation, and the chief events of his life, and Mr Browne, the Oriental scholar, has translated this book into English, and printed and published it, there is no need for me to repeat what is recorded in it.

When our great Master Bahá'u'lláh reached the age of thirty-two, he set out for the place called Badasht. *Badasht in the direction of Mázandarán, where he met His Holiness Ḥájji Muḥammad 'Alí al-Mázandarání [or -Bárfurúshí], who was entitled *Janáb-i-Quddús*, and Qurratu'l-'Ayn[1], and others of the Friends.

When he was thirty-three years of age he went to the place called Shaykh Ṭabarsí in Mázandarán, where he suffered at the hands of the Shí'a divines and their followers, and was imprisoned in the town of Ámul, one of the dependencies of Mázandarán, and was much afflicted, and despoiled of his property.

Shaykh Ṭabarsí.

When he reached the age of thirty-five, being at the time in one of the summer resorts of Shimírán, on the outskirts of the city of Ṭihrán, there happened the attempt on the life of the Sháh (Náṣiru'd-Dín), which was as follows. One of the sect [of the Bábís] named Ṣádiq, after the execution of His Holiness the Harbinger (*i.e.* the Báb), conceived the idea of exacting revenge without taking counsel with any man of sense; and, meeting Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh on the 28th of Shawwál, 1268 (May 17, 1852) while he was out riding, discharged at him a fire-arm

Attempt on the life of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh, May 17, 1852.

notes by myself, was published at the Cambridge University Press in 1891 under the title of *A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the History of the Báb.* * page 3.

[1] Also called *Janáb-i-Ṭáhira*, the Bábí poetess and martyr.

charged with shot, which, however, did not kill him. This deed, which arose from lack of thought and consideration of consequences, brought grievous sufferings on this sect (the Bábís), of whom the Government arrested many, and condemned them to death. The various classes of citizens slew them with all manner of torments[1], and in consequence thereof, moreover, much suffering befel our great Lord Bahá'u'lláh while he was sojourning in the above-mentioned summer resort. He was surrounded by order of the Government by a body of troopers, who led him, walking and bare-footed, in the extreme heat of summer, to Ṭihrán, where he was confined in the prison for four months in fetters and chains. During this period he used to pass some of his nights without food, sleeping on *the ground; and I know not how I can describe this prison, for it was notorious for badness and foulness of air and water, nor did the rays of the sun, the light of day, or pure air ever enter it. There he remained until the Russian Minister in the Capital exerted himself to protect him, when it was proved on enquiry and investigation that His Holiness our Great Master had no knowledge of the above-mentioned event, and his non-complicity therein became clear. So, his innocence being established, he was released through the efforts of the afore-mentioned Minister; but, having regard to existing circumstances and the severities which prevailed, it was considered expedient that he should reside in the "Abode of Peace" (*Dáru's-Salám*) of Baghdád. So His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh set out, being accompanied by his family, and a specially selected officer on the part of the

Bahá'u'lláh arrested and imprisoned for four months.

Bahá'u'lláh exiled to Baghdád. Oct. 14, 1852.

[1] A list of 28 of these victims will be found in my *Traveller's Narrative*, Vol. ii, pp. 323—334.

* page 4.

Sháh, and another on the part of the Russian Legation, for Baghdád, the administrative centre of 'Iráq-i-'Arab (Mesopotamia). This happened when he was thirty-six[1] years of age, on the 1st of Muḥarram, 1269 (October 14, 1852[1]); and after a while he was joined by Mírzá Yaḥyá called *Azal.*

Now in those days, by reason of grievous sufferings and unremitting persecution, this community (the Bábís) was dissolved in the lands of Persia, and their assembly was scattered, and most of them were slain with all manner of torments and the harshest punishments; their possessions were plundered, their wives and children were led into captivity, and if one of them survived, he hid himself in some corner, or chose for himself exile from his country. But at this juncture His Holiness our Great Master set himself in Baghdád to the elevation of the Word and the diffusion of its lights with a zeal which could not be exceeded. His efforts led to a general diffusion of the Word, and this religion became famous throughout all regions more than it had been at first. Thereby was the fire of envy kindled in the heart of Mírzá Yaḥyá and his companions, so that after about a year, in order *to extinguish this fire, His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh determined to leave Baghdád, and so set out suddenly, without the knowledge of any one, with a servant named Abu'l-Qásim, for Sulaymániyya in Kurdistán. This happened in A.H. 1271 (A.D. 1854), Bahá'u'lláh being then thirty-eight years of age. The servant was killed after a few days at the hands of thieves, while he was travelling from one place to another on special business, so that His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh remained alone in these deserts and mountains. Many nights passed over him when he was

Bahá'u'lláh retires into the mountains of Sulaymániyya in 1854.

[1] MS. has "thirty-seven" and "1853" erroneously. * page 5.

without food, and none of his companions knew where he was until a definite time which will be mentioned, and he has made mention of this in a Tablet in Persian which he addressed to the sister of his wife named Maryam and entitled "the Red Leaf" (*al-Waraqatu'l-Ḥamrá*), some portions of which I shall cite in this place to seek a blessing and for the better information [of my readers]. He says (may my life be his sacrifice!):—

Epistle to Maryam.

"O Maryam! The wrongs which I suffer have obliterated the wrongs suffered by my First Name from the Tablet of the Universe. O Maryam! From the Land of Ṭá (Ṭihrán), after afflictions which cannot be enumerated, we reached 'Iráq-i-'Arab by command of the Tyrant of Persia, where, after the fetters of foes, we were afflicted with the perfidy of friends. Thereafter God knoweth what befell me, until I chose solitary exile, cut off from my household and what it contained, and from the Spirit and what is connected therewith. I journeyed through the deserts of Resignation, travelling in such guise that all men wept over my strangerhood, and all things shed tears of blood over my sorrows. I kept company with the birds of the plain and dwelt with the beasts of the field, passing beyond this transitory world like spiritual lightning, while for two years or rather less I avoided all beside God and shut my eyes to all but Him....Until God's Predestination reminded some of His spiritual servants of this youth of Canaan, and they began *to make enquiry and to establish correspondence with all places and persons, until they discovered a sign of that signless one in a mountain cave. Verily he guideth all things into a straight path."

In short, after His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh had left Baghdád, the conditions underwent a change, the

* page 6.

ardour of this community was cooled, and sloth overcame them. This period of absence endured two years or rather less, and it wanted but little that the harmony of the companions should be broken up, the name of the First Point (*i.e.* the Báb) obliterated, and the Light of Religion extinguished. Then arose the brother of our glorious Master, Áqá Mírzá Músá, who was entitled *Kalím* ("the Interlocutor")[1] and the father of his wife Shaykh Sulṭán, a native of 'Iráq, and His Honour the Servant of the Presence Mírzá Áqá Ján (of Káshán)[2], and some others, to make investigations and enquiries. They began, therefore, to ask for news and information from every traveller and sojourner until they found their way to His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, and ascertained that he was in the mountains of Sulaymániyya in Kurdistán. Thereupon they sent the above-mentioned Shaykh Sulṭán, with a number of letters from the faithful in different lands, to wait upon him; and His Holiness our Master returned to Baghdád in consequence of the urgent representations of the above-mentioned (Shaykh Sulṭán), and his entreaties and prayers. His arrival on this occasion effected a great improvement in the community, and an important extension of the Word, inasmuch as he devoted himself with all his energy to their purification and the improvement of their characters and conduct both by tongue and by pen. His influence was far-reaching, his doings were noised abroad in all regions, and there hastened to him those members of the community who were scattered abroad throughout the lands.

Return of Bahá'u'lláh to Baghdád.

[1] This is also the title given to the Prophet Moses (Músá) by the Muslims, because he talked with God.

[2] Commonly entitled by the Bahá'ís *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh* ("His Honour the Servant of God").

Suicide of Sayyid Isma'íl of Zawára, A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1857–8).

Amongst the strange events which happened during the days of our great Master's sojourn at Baghdád was the sacrifice of himself of one of the Companions named Áqá Sayyid Isma'íl of Zawára, a dependency of Iṣfahán. The detail of this is that the above-mentioned man came from his country to Baghdád, and after *having had the honour of being presented to His Holiness our great Master, and the lapse of some days, his state underwent a change, and there appeared in him an ecstasy, rapture and ardour beyond the bounds of computation. One night he had the honour of meeting His Holiness our great Master outside the house, and he bade him sit down beside him. Meanwhile our Master asked for a page of writing and a lamp, and began to peruse it, while the attendant stood holding the candlestick in his hand before his Holy Countenance. After a little while there appeared a complete change and a violent perturbation in the Sayyid above mentioned. The Master turned to him, commanded him to be tranquil, and entered his private apartment; and the Sayyid set out for his lodging in the house of Áqá Muḥammad Riẓá of Iṣfahán, known as *al-'Aríẓ*. Each day he increased in love, longing and rapture, until His Holiness our great Master honoured with his presence the house above mentioned, at the invitation of Áqá Muḥammad Riẓá *al-'Aríẓ*. Now there were set before our Lord fruits and divers sorts of sweetmeats, which our Master divided amongst those present; and he called the afore-mentioned Sayyid Isma'íl to give him a share thereof. But when he came, he said to him, "Verily I ask you for a spiritual food." After some days he resolved to sacrifice himself, but informed no one of his purpose. So one day in the

* page 7.

morning he went to the house of His Holiness our Master, and began to sweep outside the house, measuring the space, which was more than forty paces, with his turban. Then he placed his face on the ground, and measured the two places above mentioned, and departed at noon to a place outside Baghdád in the direction where lies the road to Káẓimayn. And first he came to the Shaṭṭu'l-'Arab, where he performed the ablution with water and then lay down on his back with his face turned towards Baghdád, and cut his throat with a razor for shaving, and laid the razor on his breast, and yielded up his pure spirit. Now when the local government was informed of this, it sent officials to convey the martyr in a coffin *to the governor's palace; and the governing classes gathered round him, looking at him and weeping. And the military guards informed the local government about this event, and of how he came alone, and performed his ablution, and set out for the place of his death. This event happened in the year A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1857–8).

Bahá'u'lláh invited to become a British subject.

And amongst the events of those days was that the Consul-General of the British Government, Colonel Arnold Burrowes Kemball[1], entered into a friendly correspondence with His Holiness our great Master, his object being to adopt our Master as a British subject and to place him under the protection of the British Government. His Holiness, however, would not accept this proposal, though the British Consul-General said to him, "If you do not like to live in England, you can journey to India, which is indeed an Oriental and Muḥammadan

* page 8.

[1] According to the *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* Sir A. B. Kemball became Consul-General at Baghdád in 1859, but according to the *Alm. de Gotha* in 1857.

country, where you can dwell in any spot which is agreeable to your taste in the utmost honour and ease." To be brief, however, our Master would not accept this proposal, preferring to abide in the Ottoman dominions; a decision whereof the wisdom will not be hidden from men of sagacity, if they consider the events which happened subsequently

The *Íqán* composed and published.

At this juncture one of the relatives of the Báb on the mother's side named Ḥájji Mírzá Sayyid Muḥammad, a native of Shíráz, came to Karbalá and Najaf. When he reached Káẓimayn, which is distant one hour from Baghdád, His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh sent to him one of the most eminent of his Companions, named Ḥájji Sayyid Jawád of Karbalá, to invite him to Baghdád. He accepted the invitation, and, when he attained the honour of an interview, asked some questions about the appearance of the Promised *Qá'im*, whose advent Islám awaits. Our Master thereupon issued in reply to him a perspicuous book entitled *Kitábu'l-Íqán* (the "Book of Assurance")[1]; and when he had read it and acquainted himself with its contents, he acknowledged the truth of this matter and returned to his country.

Enmity of Shí'ite divines towards Bahá'u'lláh.

*This notoriety which accrued to this community became a cause of the hatred of certain doctors of the Shí'a sect who dwelt at Karbalá and Najaf. Amongst these was Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn of Ṭihrán, who had been appointed by Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh to repair the Holy shrines. He agreed with the other doctors who were resident there to assemble at Káẓimayn and order the common people to revolt against this community. Therefore he started an agitation

[1] This book has been translated into French by M. H. Dreyfus under the title of *Le Livre de la Certitude* (Paris, 1904). * page 9.

there, and invited all the doctors to the place prepared for the banquet. Amongst those invited was the great Shaykh Murtaẓá al-Anṣárí, who was one of the most famous *mujtahids*, a pious, learned, accomplished, devout and just man. So when the company was collected, the above-mentioned Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn disclosed his purpose, and asked for a *fatwá* from Shaykh Murtaẓá al-Anṣárí on this subject. But when Shaykh Murtaẓá heard his words, he did not give a *fatwá* according to what was sought, but said, "I have not yet acquainted myself with the ideas of the Bábís; how then can I give a *fatwá* against them?" Then he rose up and returned to Najaf, whence he sent a message to His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, declaring his affection for him, and excusing himself because he had not been aware of the intentions of the doctors, else would he not have been present with them, and adding: "Verily I pray for you and ask God to preserve and help you." So when Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn and the other doctors found themselves thus disappointed, they had recourse to another plan. And there was amongst them an eloquent and fluent man named Mullá Ḥasan 'Amú, who was celebrated for his gift of speech and eloquence. So they agreed to send him to His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh to prove him, supposing that he would prevail over him by his fluency and eloquence. Him, therefore, they sent; and he chanced to arrive on a day when His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh was invited to the house of Mírzá Ḥasan Khán, one of the notables of Persia. Thither did the above-mentioned Mullá Ḥasan direct his steps, and demanded permission to enter, which was granted him. But after he had met our Master, and had seen his dignity, *majesty and awfulness, he did not dare to disclose the intentions of the doctors, but said that he had been

* page 10.

sent on their behalf to investigate the claim and proof. Then our glorious Master said to him, "During the period of our sojourn in 'Iráq we have been hoping to meet the doctors in some assembly that they might question us concerning the claim and proof, and that we might answer, in accordance with the texts of the Scriptures and the arguments of reason, concerning the Holy Bábí Law, so that the Truth might be distinguished from its opposite." Then His Holiness began to prove logically and historically that His Holiness the Harbinger [*i.e.* the Báb] was the *Qá'im*, and on this subject he set forth a detailed explanation to those who were present. When he had concluded his discourse, the above-mentioned Mullá Ḥasan made representation to him as follows: "Verily the learning, wisdom, eloquence and fluency [of the Báb's words] are admitted, and there is no doubt about them, nor can they be exceeded; but let not the position of the doctors be misunderstood, for they are not satisfied with scientific proofs, but require some heavenly sign and demand a miracle." His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh replied: "Well dost thou speak! Go to the doctors and bid them agree on one thing and one miracle on recognized conditions, that God, glorious is His state, may display it, and may complete this Proof to His creatures." Then the above-mentioned Mullá Ḥasan arose, expressing his joy and gratitude, and returned to the doctors full of gladness, and explained to them the state of the case. Some while elapsed after this, and no reply was received from them. Then Mullá Ḥasan sent a message to His Holiness, explaining that the doctors had fled from the field, and would not accept this arrangement. So he departed into the land of Persia and made mention of this matter to all men in every province, admitting the collapse of the doctors.

After this event the above-mentioned Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn had recourse to another trick and stratagem, and misled by means of worldly wealth Mírzá Buzurg Khán of Qazwín, who was the Consul-General of the Persian Government in Baghdád, *and conspired with him to thwart His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh. So they began to correspond with Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh and his ministers and the nobles of Persia, and frightened them about the increasing numbers of the Bábís in Baghdád, and their power and influence. They also stirred up the dregs of the Persian population in Baghdád to kill His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, who, however, never attempted to conceal himself, but still continued to consort with the people of Baghdád, and to go out, generally alone, from his house, and to visit a place in Baghdád specially designed for men of learning, scholars and magnates to meet. Only after his arrival there would his attendants overtake him. The anxiety of his enemies to kill him or hurt him, and his disregard of them, was a source of great wonder to the public. In those days the writer was in attendance, enjoying the honour of entering the presence of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh; but after four months permission was accorded to him to return to his own country.

Intrigues of the Persian Consul at Baghdád, Mírzá Buzurg Khán.

The Author at Baghdád.

In short, the persistency of the above-mentioned Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn and the Consul-General and the mischief-making divines impelled Mírzá Ḥusayn Khán, the Persian Ambassador at Constantinople, to request the Ottoman Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz to assign to His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh some residence remote from Baghdád, which is adjacent to Persian territory and is the resort of numbers of

* page 11.

Shí'ite pilgrims. Accordingly the Ottoman Government decided to bring His Holiness from Baghdád to Constantinople. The late Námiq Pasha, who was subsequently *doyen* of the ministers (*Shaykhu'l-Wuzará*), was at that time Governor [of Baghdád]. He informed His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh of this matter, and of the determination of this journey. He [*i.e.* Bahá'u'lláh] was at this time forty-seven years of age, and had sojourned in Baghdád eleven years and more. On the 3rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 1279, on the thirty-first day after the Persian New Year's Day, *on April 20, 1863, in the afternoon, he set out from Old Baghdád, wherein was the Most Great House set apart for His Holiness our Master, for the Garden of Najíb Pasha, called Riḍwán, and situated in the new quarter of Baghdád. He crossed the Shaṭṭ[u'l-'Arab] in a boat, entered the above-mentioned garden, and abode there for twelve days, which are called *Ayyámu'r-Riḍwán*. Thither the townsfolk, including the Sunní doctors, the local notables and the Government officials came daily in crowds to visit him, to present their dues of affection and farewell, returning afterwards to their houses in exceeding grief and sorrow. In those days His Holiness our Lord Bahá'u'lláh declared his Mission in his writings; and this is reckoned a second declaration, as is fully set forth in more lengthy treatises on this matter.

Bahá'u'lláh leaves Baghdád, April 20, 1863, for the Garden of Riḍwán.

To be brief, His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh set forth on his journey at noon on the twelfth day from the above-mentioned garden, this being the 13th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 1279, corresponding with the 1st of May, 1863. He was accompanied by his three sons (*al-*

Bahá'u'lláh sets out from Baghdád for Constantinople, May 1, 1863.

* page 12.

Aghṣánu'th-Thalátha), 'Abbás Efendi, Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, and Mahdí Efendi, his wives and family, his brother Áqá Mírzá Músá, the Servant of the Presence[1], Mírzá Muḥammad-qulí, and a number of the disciples in his service. That was a memorable day: wailing and lamentation arose from all sides; the people grieved over his departure as he rode forth on his horse, exhorting and admonishing them, enjoining on them patience and dignity, and consoling them with words and expressions which attracted their hearts and minds. His Holiness our Master alighted at a place called Furayját, distant two hours from Baghdád, where he abode a week. Each day his followers appeared before him to visit him and then returned [to Baghdád], while he enjoined on them patience, *composure, virtue and courtesy. After the lapse of a week he continued his journey by way of Kerkúk, Mawṣil and Diyár Bakr towards Constantinople, until he reached the town of Samsún, situated on the coast of the Black Sea; and the duration of this journey was four months. There he issued a Tablet entitled the "Tablet of the Howdah" (*Lawḥu'l-Hawdaj*), in which was contained information as to certain future events. Then he embarked on the steamer and reached Constantinople, where a number of carriages were provided by the Ottoman Government for him and his following. In these he and his companions drove to the Government Guest-house; but since this did not provide sufficient accommodation, another more spacious house, called "the House of Veysí Pasha," was assigned to His Holiness our Master and his following at the charges of the State, while Shemsí Bey was appointed

[1] *i.e.* Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán, commonly called *Janáb-i-Khádimu 'lláh*.

* page 13.

on behalf of the Government to arrange for their entertainment.

Bahá'u'lláh resides for four months at Constantinople.

His Holiness our Master abode in Constantinople for four months, during which period he associated with no one of the Ministers of the State or its leaders or officials. One of these called Kemál Pasha one day observed to His Holiness our Master in the course of conversation that the current custom was that every important person coming to the Government, that is to say being received as its guest, should visit the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the second or third day after his arrival, to set forth his aims and objects, and should, if necessary, request an interview with his Majesty the Sulṭán. To this our Master replied, "I am not unaware of the current customs; but inasmuch as we have no need and no request to prefer, and our trust is in none save God alone; and since the Government desired our presence here, and we, in obedience to it, journeyed hither, so that it might be apparent to it that we have no aim except the well-being of the State and the Nation, therefore we are unwilling to cause it further trouble." *So Kemál Pasha was silent, nor did anyone thereafter speak words of like import.

Intrigues of Mírzá Ḥusayn Khán the Persian Ambassador.

Mírzá Ḥusayn Khán, who was mentioned a little while ago, kept watching for some opportunity to trouble the minds of the [Ottoman] statesmen in regard to this community; and, finding the moment propitious, he hinted to the Ministers that these excuses really arose from pride and arrogance, not from mere independence of spirit and trust in God; and since there existed between him and

* page 14.

Fu'ád Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and 'Álí Pasha, the Prime Minister, a great friendship, he devoted all his energies and state-craft with them and others to changing their ideas and disturbing their thoughts, until an Edict was promulgated by the Ottoman Government to the effect that the dwelling-place of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh and his following should be the city of Adrianople, known [amongst the Bahá'ís] as the "Land of the Mystery" (*Arḍu's-Sirr*)[1], which was formerly the capital of the [Ottoman] Empire.

Bahá'u'lláh arrives at Adrianople, Dec. 12, 1863.

Our Master Bahá'u'lláh and those who accompanied him set out from Constantinople riding in carriages for Adrianople, which they reached at the beginning of the month of Rajab, A.H. 1280, corresponding with the 12th of December, 1863, and were lodged at first in a *khán*, whence His Holiness our Master was transferred to the house known as the *Murádiyya*, and, after a few days, to another house called the "House of God's Command" (*Baytu Amri'lláh*). The great men of the district and its officials and divines visited him there, paying respect to his rank. But those who accompanied him dwelt in other quarters.

Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.*

Now as for the circumstances of Mírzá Yaḥyá [*Ṣubḥ-i-Azal*], who has been mentioned before, the facts are that His Holiness our Master, during the days of his sojourn in Persia, enjoyed great celebrity and supreme importance in this matter with the Ministers of State and notables of the people, the eyes of all being directed towards him. Then there came before him one of the leaders *of this community, named Mullá

[1] The words *Sirr* (Mystery) and *Edirné* (Adrianople) have the same numerical equivalent, *viz.* 260.

* page 15.

'Abdu'l-Karím of Qazwín and entitled Mírzá Aḥmad[1], accompanied by his [Bahá'u'lláh's] brother Áqá Mírzá Músá, and represented to him that the hatred and malevolence of the doctors and lawyers of Persia exceeded all that could be imagined, while the hatred of the Prime Minister Mírzá Taqí Khán also was fierce and his influence great, and the Government likewise despotic in its commands. In these circumstances His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh was in great peril, and consequently it was necessary that the regards of these persons should be directed towards some other person. And since, for various considerations, they did not deem it expedient to appoint a stranger, Mírzá Yaḥyá [*Ṣubḥ-i-Azal*] was chosen to this end, and His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh wrote letters to His Holiness the Harbinger "the First Point" [*i.e.* the Báb] about Mírzá Yaḥyá, his brother above-mentioned, to which answers were duly issued; and His Holiness our Master began to instruct him, and his name became celebrated [as a leader of the sect].

Ṣubḥ-i-Azal proceeds alone from Baghdád to Mawṣil.

To be brief, the diligence of His Holiness our Master in publishing the Word in 'Iráq, and the fame of his renown throughout the lands, became a cause of envy to the above-mentioned [*Ṣubḥ-i-Azal*], who was secretly moved thereby to opposition and frowardness. Now when he was in Persian territory, and His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh was at Baghdád, he was hidden from men's sight, and none of the Companions used to see him; while in Baghdád he dwelt in a house apart with his wife and children, and used often to visit His Holiness our Master, until, when the journey to Constantinople was decided on, His Holiness our Master ordered him to take with him the

[1] See my *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 41—2 and n. 2 *ad calc.*

writings of His Holiness the Harbinger [*i.e.* the Báb], and to go to Persia to have them copied and published. But after the departure of His Holiness our Master, he left the above-mentioned writings in the house of His Holiness our Master and went with one of the Companions, an Arab named Ẓáhir, to Mawṣil, which he entered before the arrival there of His Holiness our Master, having adopted the name of Mírzá 'Alí. And since those [believers] who dwelt there did not know him personally, they supposed him *to be a guest, until they reached Constantinople. After their arrival there, those who had accompanied His Holiness our Master knew him and understood his case; and, since they used to associate with him continually, they gradually became cognizant of his character and condition, and found him to be the contrary of what they had supposed; until they reached Adrianople, where Mírzá Yaḥyá again dwelt in a place apart, his expenses being at the charge of His Holiness our Master, while what used to arrive from the different countries was given to him, though matters were at that time greatly straitened and embarrassed. But after allowances had been assigned by the [Ottoman] Government, there was apportioned to him and to those who were with him sufficient for their needs and more. Yet, notwithstanding all this attention, the fire of his [Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's] envy was not quenched, but was rather increased every moment, until in A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863) there was promulgated [by Bahá'u'lláh] the "Tablet of Command" (*Lawḥu'l-Amr*), which openly gladdened all men with the tidings of the Advent of Him who was promised in the *Bayán*; and His Reverence the Servant [of God][1] bore the

Bahá'u'lláh promulgates the *Lawḥu'l-Amr* in 1863.

* page 16.

[1] *i.e.* Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán.

above-mentioned Tablet, which was in the writing of the Holy Pen, according to the instructions of our Master Bahá'u'lláh, to Mírzá Yaḥyá, and read it to him. Mírzá Yaḥyá did not openly reject the Tablet, but the fire of envy blazed forth in his bosom more than before, and there appeared then the schism mentioned in the Holy Tablets, and the days named "the Days of Stress" (*al-Ayyámu'sh-Shidád*), and there befell "the Supreme Separation" (*al-Faṣlu'l-Akbar*), and His Holiness our Master, together with his sons (*al-Aghṣán*) and wives and the Servant, went forth from amongst the community, took up their abode in another house, left all and ceased to converse and associate with them, and for some while met none of the Companions.

Schism between Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.

Amongst the events which happened in those days was Mírzá Yaḥyá's attempt to give poison to His Holiness our glorious Master Bahá'u'lláh. This, in brief, was as follows. Before the "Supreme Separation" had yet taken place, Mírzá Yaḥyá one day invited His Holiness our Master to his house to drink tea with milk, according to the custom of the Persians; and he had arranged this *before the arrival of Bahá'u'lláh, and had set apart certain special cups for His Holiness. So when one of the cups above-mentioned was offered to him, our Master drank some of it, and gave the remainder to one of the wives of Mírzá Yaḥyá who was present. She drank of it, and subsequently there appeared in her symptoms of poisoning, though the poison was not in sufficient quantity to threaten her life. After the above-mentioned event, the health of His Holiness our Master was greatly disordered, to such a degree that one of the faithful

Alleged attempt to poison Bahá'u'lláh.

* page 17.

physicians feared for his life when he visited him, and prayed that the sickness might be transferred to himself, and that His Holiness our Master might be healed. And it seemed as though his prayers were answered, for he fell sick and was confined to his house, and after a little while his pure spirit left this transitory life. And his name was Dr Chúpán. The illness of His Holiness our Master continued for a long while, but eventually his health was restored for the accomplishment of the thing predestined, which was the completion of the Proof to mankind, and the manifestation of the Dispensation promised in the former Scriptures.

Alleged attempt to assassinate Bahá'u'lláh in the bath.

Now as for the cause of the "Supreme Separation," this was that one day Mírzá Yaḥyá entered the bath attended by Master Muḥammad 'Alí of Iṣfahán the barber, according to custom. And in the bath Mírzá Yaḥyá endeavoured to persuade his attendant to kill His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, saying, "When thou waitest upon His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh in the bath and art preparing to shave his throat, cut it." But Muḥammad 'Alí after leaving the bath reported the matter, which was bruited abroad amongst the Community, so that great disquietude appeared amongst them, in consequence of which His Holiness our Master enjoined on all patience, quietude and gentleness, and himself went forth from amongst them and lodged in another house.

Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán.

After this event Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán, who was ever bent on opposition and schism, and who was finally expelled on account of some of his actions, thought the time propitious, and united himself *to Mírzá Yaḥyá. The two busied themselves

* page 18.

with mischief and frowardness, both within and without [the community]; but although they left nothing undone in the way of enmity and opposition, His Holiness our Master used to treat them with the utmost kindness and courtesy until one day Mírzá Yaḥyá, instigated thereto by the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥammad, sent one of his women to the Government House to demand an allowance and to complain of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh saying, "He has not given us the allowance apportioned to us by the Government, yea, he withholds from us bread and water." To such extreme meanness and such great injury to God's affair did he consent, while enjoying all sorts of favours and obtaining all the means to honour and comfort! This thing they did to injure the dignity of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh; and they wrote letters to the different countries ascribing all their own deeds to His Holiness, and devoting themselves with all their energies to falsehood and calumny.

Open rupture between Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, Aug. 26, 1867.

On the 26th of the Second Rabí', A.H. 1284 (August 26, 1867) a little before noon one of the Persians named Mír Muḥammad of Shíráz presented himself, saying that he had come from Mírzá Yaḥyá who desired that a meeting should take place between him and His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, and that the ordeal by cursing should be performed, so that a discrimination might be effected between the True and the False, and that the Truth might become apparent to all. And when this matter had been submitted in detail to His Holiness our Master, who was preparing to take his midday rest, he arose forthwith and went forth from the house, saying to the above-mentioned Mír Muḥammad, "Go, and bid Mírzá Yaḥyá come to the Mosque of Sulṭán Selím, where he will find us." And from

the moment of his exit from the house until he entered the above-mentioned Mosque, in the streets and markets, he continued to utter verses in an audible voice so that all who saw him and heard the verses were astonished. In short, soon after he had entered the Mosque, Mír Muḥammad arrived saying, "Mírzá Yaḥyá asks to be excused because to-day it is not possible for him to present himself. He therefore begs you to appoint another day, and to write a note to this effect, signed *and sealed, that whoever does not present himself at the appointed time is an impostor." So His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh wrote a Tablet, and sealed it with his noble seal, and delivered it to one of his disciples named Mírzá Muḥammad and entitled *Nabíl*[1] (he it was who cast himself into the sea a little while after the Ascension of His Holiness our Master), arranging that the meeting should take place in the Mosque of Sulṭán Selím. The author [of this book] was there at the time, and was present when His Holiness our Master commanded Nabíl to take the above-mentioned holy Tablet to one of the followers of Mírzá Yaḥyá named Ḥasan Áqá that he should give them the Tablet when they had given him a note sealed by Mírzá Yaḥyá in accordance with the agreement above mentioned; but that otherwise he should keep the Tablet and not hand it over to them. Some days elapsed after this, and they gave him no such note, nor did they appear at the trysting-place; for there is no doubt that the Darkness and the Light can never meet.

The Author at Adrianople.

* page 19.

[1] *Nabíl* (noble) is numerically equivalent to *Muḥammad* (both words yielding, in the *abjad* notation, a total of 92), and is sometimes substituted for it by the Bábís. The Báb himself, whose name was 'Alí Muḥammad, often calls himself *'Alí before Nabíl*.

Alleged intrigues of Sayyid Muḥammad and Áqá Ján *Kaj-Kuláh* at Constantinople.

After the "Supreme Separation" Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán, who has just been mentioned, went to Constantinople to lay a complaint, and there foregathered with a man named Áqá Ján and nick-named *Kaj-Kuláh* ("Skew-cap"). These two left undone nothing in the way of dishonour, mischief, falsehood and calumny, and the Persian Ambassador Mírzá Ḥusayn Khán, already mentioned, found in them a suitable means for carrying out the design which he constantly harboured in his bosom, to wit the injuring of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, and making mischief between him and the Ministers of the Ottoman Government. He therefore made them instrumental in disturbing the understandings of the Ottoman statesmen, and led them to suppose that many of the people of Adrianople were followers of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh. By these false statements, in short, they troubled the minds of the Ottoman Ministers and caused the issue of an edict by Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz banishing His Holiness our Master with three other persons to 'Akká, * this measure being effected by the energy of the above-mentioned Ambassador, the Prime Minister 'Álí Pasha, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Fu'ád Pasha. The three persons who were to accompany His Holiness our Master were his brother Áqá Mírzá Músá, Mírzá Muḥammad-qulí who subsequently rose up in opposition, and Dervish Ṣidq 'Alí of Qazwín, one of the servants of His Holiness our Master.

One morning the soldiers of the Government surrounded the house of His Holiness our Master on all sides, and sentinels were set over the inner and outer doors to prevent any one from going out or coming in; while such of the Companions as were without the house they arrested and

* page 20.

brought to the Government House. They also arrested seven of the Companions at Constantinople and imprisoned them. A week after this event His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh set out on his journey. And during the above-mentioned week every day the Consuls of foreign Powers and some of the spiritual leaders [of the Muslims] used to wait on His Holiness our Master and show their love for Him and their favourable disposition towards Him. Their primary object was to seize upon some pretext to cancel the order of exile, which was without any adequate reason, moral or political, rendering it necessary. They unanimously demanded of His Holiness our Master that he should write a note which might serve them as a pretext for helping him and arresting the order of exile; but His Holiness our Master would not consent to this. At this time the author of this book had enjoyed the honour of being in attendance on him and dwelling in his neighbourhood for a year and a fraction over.

The Turkish Government decides to transfer Bahá'u'lláh to 'Akká.

To be brief, Khurshíd Pasha, the Governor of Adrianople, when he saw the edict issued for their exile, disapproved of this measure, and corresponded with the Ottoman statesmen repeatedly on this matter, demanding that it should be altered, and emphatically declaring, "There is absolutely no truth in what hath been said to you against this community." His hopes, however, were disappointed, for they did not accept his statement and insisted on *the execution of the order. But since he loved His Holiness our Master, he was ashamed to convey the order to him, so hid himself, giving out that he had gone out of the city, and appointed the Registrar

Khurshíd Pasha intercedes for Bahá'u'lláh.

* page 21.

(*Daftardár*) to act in his place, who conveyed the purport of the edict to His Holiness our Master, and the journey was decided on.

Bahá'u'lláh's companions insist on accompanying him.

When this matter was settled, His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh forbade all the Companions to journey with him, saying to them, "Let me journey alone, for it is uncertain what will befall me in this journey." The object of the Government in ordering this journey was, indeed, to scatter the community, for it ordered the transportation of four persons only, as has been already mentioned. But when the Companions heard what His Holiness our Master had said, their voices were raised in weeping and wailing, and they clung to every pretext whereby separation might be avoided and they might all accompany His Holiness our Master.

Attempted suicide of Hájji Ja'far of Tabríz.

At this juncture one of the Companions named Ḥájji Ja'far of Tabríz cut his throat with his own hand in the Maḥall-al-Barrání in the house of His Holiness our Master at the second hour of the night. At that moment the author of this book was sitting with a number of other persons in another room. Suddenly we heard a terrifying noise. We rushed out, and beheld the above-mentioned disciple at a window, having cut his throat with a shaving razor, the blood spouting forth and the razor fallen from his hand outside the house. A surgeon named Muḥammad, who lived in the neighbourhood, was at once sent for, while those persons who were at the gate informed the local government, some of whose representatives came. When the surgeon examined the wound he found that the [carotid] artery had not been cut, and bandaged the man's throat with a handkerchief. Those present on behalf of the

Government enquired of him the cause of this action. He replied that the cause of it was that His Holiness our Master had forbidden them to journey with him, and that he, finding this very hard to bear, was content *to part with his life, but was not content to part with his Master. "If I get well," he added, "and am forbidden to go forth with him, I shall cut my throat again." In short, the above-mentioned Ḥájji Ja'far remained there for treatment, and his brother Karbalá'í Taqí with him, by the express wish of His Holiness our Master, both having received permission to go, after Ḥájji Ja'far had recovered his health, to the town of 'Akká, the place of banishment.

After a sojourn of five years or less[1] at Adrianople His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh set out therefrom on the sixteenth of the Second Rabí', A.H. 1285 (August 5, 1868), accompanied by his sons (*al-Aghṣán*), his family and his disciples, sixty-eight souls in all, and an official specially appointed by the local government named Ḥasan Efendi, a captain, with a number of soldiers, riding in carriages and bound for Gallipoli. On that day there was a wonderful concourse of Muslims and Christians at the door of our Master's house, and at the moment of departure it was a memorable hour. Most of those present were weeping and wailing, especially the Christians. And on the fourth day they entered Gallipoli. When the soldiers surrounded the house His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh began to promulgate a Holy Tablet named the "Tablet of the Premier" (*Lawḥu'r-Ra'ís*), which he completed at

Bahá'u'lláh leaves Adrianople for 'Akká, August 5, 1868.

* page 22.

[1] In the margin are added the words "or four months," that is, four months under the five years, for they reached Adrianople in Dec. 1863 and left it in August 1868.

Publication of the *Lawḥ-i-Ra'ís.*

Gyáwur Kyüy situated near Gallipoli, at a distance of four hours therefrom. In this Tablet he mentioned certain matters and events, of which some happened after its promulgation, while others remain hitherto unfulfilled, whereof the occurrence is awaited.

Bahá'u'lláh at Gallipoli.

On arriving at Gallipoli they alighted at a house which the Government had prepared for them, and Ḥasan Efendi, the captain appointed to take charge of them, handed them all over to another officer who had come to Gallipoli with a number of the Companions from Constantinople. This was a major named 'Umar Efendi. After handing them over, Ḥasan Efendi presented himself and asked permission to enter the presence of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh to bid him farewell. On receiving this permission, he entered *and seated himself with the utmost politeness, and His Holiness our Master communicated to him orally the prophecies which had been revealed to Him in the *Lawḥu'r-Ra'ís.* The purport of these was that Adrianople and the surrounding territory would shortly pass out of the hands of the Ottoman Sulṭán; that affairs would undergo a great change; that earthquakes[1] would appear; that lamentation would arise and strife become manifest in the land, because of the oppression which had befallen them without due reason. The above-mentioned Ḥasan Efendi was greatly affected, and kept repeating continually "If God so please." And His Holiness our Master ordered him to conceal what had been told him until the time for its fulfilment should come.

* page 23.

[1] Or perhaps "political convulsions" are intended.

Some years after the arrival of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh at 'Akká, 'Álí Pasha the Prime Minister was dismissed; Fu'ád Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, died; Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz was deposed and killed; and lastly the Russo-Turkish War took place, and there happened those troubles and calamities which His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh had foretold in the *Lawḥu'r-Ra'ís*.

Fulfilment of prophecies in the *Lawḥ-i-Ra'ís*.

On the second day in Gallipoli Major 'Umar Efendi notified His Holiness our Master that he was commissioned to send four persons only to 'Akká and the remainder to Constantinople. Great God! On that day there appeared such trouble as cannot be described in speech, and there rose up the sound of weeping and wailing from all the family and Companions in such manner as the pen is unable to depict. On the next day His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh summoned the above-mentioned 'Umar Efendi and said to him, "If you cut these people in pieces it is impossible that they should separate from us." So the above-mentioned officer informed the Sublime Porte of this by telegraph, and a reply arrived that they should all be sent to 'Akká. So after the lapse of some days in Gallipoli, at the end of the month of the Second Rabí' [A.H. 1285 = August 19, 1868) His Holiness our Master and those who accompanied him of his sons (*Aghṣán*), family, kinsmen and followers, who *were about seventy souls, embarked in boats for the Austrian-Lloyd steamer and set out for 'Akká by way of Smyrna and Alexandria. Now one of the leading Companions called Mírzá Áqá of Káshán and entitled *Janáb-i-Munír* had been ill for some time, and when

Bahá'u'lláh and some 70 of his followers embark at Gallipoli for 'Akká, Aug. 19, 1868.

* page 24.

the steamer anchored in the harbour of Smyrna he took a turn for the worse. So His Holiness our Master ordered some of the Companions and one of the officers to carry him to the hospital at Smyrna. This transference took place before noon, and after noon 'Abbás Efendi, the author of this book, and two of the Companions went into Smyrna to visit him at the hospital. We found him in the death-agony; and as the steamer was about to weigh anchor, and the officials who accompanied us kept urging us to return, we returned to the steamer perforce, leaving him in that state. We subsequently learned that shortly afterwards the sick man passed away to God's Mercy, and the hospital attendants carried him forth and buried him in the Muḥammadan cemetery. And at the close of that day the steamer departed for Alexandria, where we transhipped into another Austrian steamer.

Death of Mírzá Áqá of Káshán.

The Author with Bahá'u'lláh on the steamer.

Nabíl, who has been already mentioned, was at this time imprisoned at Alexandria in consequence of a plot which will shortly be mentioned. He had converted in the prison a certain Christian named Fáris, who was an intelligent and cultivated man. So when the steamer cast anchor in the harbour at Alexandria, he sent by special messenger to His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh a letter containing certain questions, and our Master issued in answer to him an incomparable Tablet, which he sent back by the messenger. And at the close of the day the steamer sailed for Port Said, Jaffa and Ḥayfá.

Nabíl imprisoned at Alexandria.

Now as for the cause of Nabíl's affliction, this was that in A.H. 1284 (A.D. 1867) he went by permission *from Adrianople to Egypt. Shortly before his arrival there Ḥájji

* page 25.

Mírzá Ḥusayn of Shíráz and several others of the Companions had suffered at the hands of Mírzá Ḥasan Khán, the Consul-General of Persia, who had handed them over to the Government, which had exiled them to the Súdán. In consequence of the coincidence of Nabíl's arrival with this event, they arrested him also, sent him to Alexandria, and after imprisoning him there for a number of weeks, expelled him from Egypt.

Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn of Shíráz and other Bahá'ís exiled to the Súdán.

But as for the affliction of the Companions in Egypt, the account thereof is as follows. Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥaydar 'Alí of Iṣfahán and Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn of Shíráz[1], after they had had the honour of meeting Bahá'u'lláh at Adrianople in A.H. 1283 (= A.D. 1866), went by his permission to Egypt, took up their abode at Manṣúriyya, and converted to this faith a number of people, amongst whom was Ḥájji Abu'l-Qásim of Shíráz, a highly considered Persian merchant, who, after entering this religion, journeyed to Adrianople, and had the honour of being personally received by His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh. After his return to his home[2] a great commotion arose amongst the Persian merchants, who went to the above mentioned Mírzá Ḥasan Khán, the Consul-General of Persia, a native of Khúy, and complained to him of the Bábís, describing to him the increase of their numbers there. After this the above-mentioned Consul-General invited the two Ḥájjis mentioned above and some others of the Bábís to his house, intending

Cause of the banishment of certain Bahá'ís to the Súdán.

[1] These two men were the first notable Bábís whose acquaintance I made in Persia in the early part of 1888. See my *Bábís of Persia*, i, pp. 487—9, 494—5; and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 210—212, 271, 301 *et seqq.*

[2] *i.e.* as the context shows, to Egypt, not to Persia.

guile; and late at night after supper he arrested them and imprisoned them in his house, and went by night to their houses and confiscated all the writings and papers which he found there[1]. Next morning he lodged a complaint against them with Isma'íl Pasha the Khedive of Egypt, and the Ministers and doctors of Egypt assembled, examined the writings, and condemned the two Ḥájjis above mentioned to perpetual banishment, without any question *or answer, and transferred them by night from the house of the Consul on foot, escorted by mounted troopers, to the shore of the Nile, where they were imprisoned in the estuary underground in the prison set apart for murderers and thieves. After the lapse of a month they were sent by the landward route to Khartúm, accompanied by a squadron of soldiers. Their journey lasted six months, and when they entered Khartúm the people of that city came out to gaze at them. They were seven in number, and their names were Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥaydar 'Alí of Iṣfahán, who latterly set himself to oppose the Truth[2]; Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn of Shíráz; Ḥájji 'Alí of Kirmán; Mírzá Ḥusayn of Káshán; 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Zanján; Áqá Muḥammad Ḥáshim of Niráq; and Ḥájji Abu'l-Qásim of Iṣfahán. There they remained nine years, during which period His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh sent to them two of the Companions to enquire after them. After the lapse of this period they were released and restored to freedom, by spiritual means and the Lord's predestination

[1] Compare the account of these events given to me at Shíráz in the spring of 1888 by Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn himself, in my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 331—3.

* page 26.

[2] In the schism which ensued after the death of Bahá'u'lláh in 1892, Mírzá Ḥaydar 'Alí took the part of 'Abbás Efendi ('Abdu'l-Bahá), while Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn, like the author of this book, attached himself to the party of Muḥammad 'Alí.

and will, by the instrumentality of the famous Gordon Pasha. Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥaydar 'Alí and Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn after their release travelled by way of Mecca to 'Akká in A.H. 1290 (A.D. 1873) and had the honour of being received by Bahá'u'lláh. After the lapse of some months they journeyed into the land of Persia. The remaining exiles continued in the Súdán, where some of them passed away to God's Mercy.

Return of Bahá'í exiles from Khartúm in 1873.

The first trouble which happened and the first martyrdom which took place in Persia after His Holiness our Master had made manifest his affair occurred at Tabríz, and was as follows. Shaykh Aḥmad, Mírzá 'Alí Naqí and Sayyid Muḥammad, all natives of Khurásán, arrived at Tabríz intending to travel thence to Adrianople. The Government arrested them, together with the author of this book, Mírzá Muṣṭafá of Niráq and some others of the Companions. The Governor of Ázarbáyján in those days was [the Crown Prince] Muẓaffaru'd-Dín [afterwards] Sháh[1], and his chief Minister was Mírzá Qahramán. *He communicated by telegraph to the capital news of this matter to his father His Majesty Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh and his minister the Sardár 'Azíz Khán. After the lapse of a month orders arrived to put to death Mírzá Muṣṭafá, Shaykh Aḥmad and Mírzá 'Alí Naqí, and on the 2nd of Ramaḍán, A.H. 1283 (8th of January, 1867) they brought forth these men into the Maydán-i-Haft Kachal in Tabríz and cut off their heads, and after they were dead the people of the city burned their bodies with fire, while

The Author arrested at Tabríz.

Three Bábís put to death at Tabríz, Jan. 8, 1867.

[1] He succeeded to the throne on the assassination of his father Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh in 1896 and died, after granting the Constitution, on January 8, 1907.

* page 27.

from the author of this book they took much money and then let him go, together with the rest of those arrested.

This event above described was noised abroad through all the provinces of Persia and led to the persecution of some other Bahá'ís, amongst them Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí the doctor of Zanján, whom they arrested in Zanján and imprisoned, and, after some days, cut off his head in the prison on a charger. Another of them was Áqá Najaf 'Alí of Zanján, who was in constant attendance on His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh from the days of Baghdád until Adrianople, and who in A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1867) received permission to go to Persia. When he entered Ṭihrán the Government arrested him, seized such of the Holy writings as he had with him, and afterwards let him go, without, however, restoring to him the confiscated writings. He, however, was not content to be released without having these writings restored to him, and began to importune the officials to restore them, doing this repeatedly. So they arrested him a second time, and, acting on a *fatwá* given by Ḥájji Mullá 'Alí of Kand, cut off his head in the square set apart for executions, after they had tormented him for some days with all kinds of torments current amongst barbarous peoples. His whole body was covered with wounds so that he was unable to put on any clothing save an Arab shirt.

Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján put to death.

Áqá Najaf 'Alí of Zanján put to death in 1867.

Another of them was Áqá Sayyid Ashraf and Abú Baṣír of Zanján, whom the Government arrested in their native town of Zanján and condemned to death. But because Sayyid Ashraf was of the Háshimite *Sharífs*, *some were

Sayyid Ashraf and Abú Baṣír put to death at Zanján in 1870.

* page 28.

unwilling to kill him. They therefore sent his mother to the prison to remonstrate with him, that perhaps, after meeting her, he might be moved to compassion for her, and might utter some word proving their innocence of this doctrine, that they might make her a means for releasing him. But when they met his mother addressed him, saying, "O my son, to-day is the day for steadfastness and endurance! If thou dost not sacrifice thy life in God's Way, or if thou returnest safe from the arena of martyrdom, I will not make lawful to thee my milk nor be well pleased with thee." So the *'ulamá*, seeing matters thus, ordered both of them to be put to death, and they were accordingly decapitated in public by command of the Government in A.H. 1287 (A.D. 1870).

Attack on Bábís at Baghdád (April, 1868).

On the 1st and 2nd of the month of Muḥarram[1], which are the anniversaries of the births of His Holiness the Báb and our Most Glorious Master Bahá'u'lláh, such of the community as were in Baghdád in A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868) had assembled in the garden of Mírzá Músá al-Jawáhirí and 'Umar Bey to amuse themselves and enjoy the air. But the Shí'ites who were in Baghdád imagined that the Bábís had organized this assembly in despite of their religion, since they consider the month of Muḥarram a month of mourning, because in it the Imám Ḥusayn, the Chief of Martyrs, was slain at Karbalá, together with most of his household, at the hands of the Umayyad soldiers. They therefore made a complaint to Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn of Ṭihrán, the *Mujtahid*, and Mírzá Buzurg Khán, the Persian Consul at Baghdád, both of whom have been already mentioned; and the *'ulamá* pronounced sentence of death

[1] April 24 and 25, 1868.

against them, being supported and aided by the above-mentioned Consul. These stirred up the lowest and vilest of the Shí'ites to do them injury: the fire of strife was kindled, and whenever the Shí'ites found any of the Companions in the markets or streets they used to beat them with intent to kill them. One morning whilst one of the Companions called 'Abdu'r-Rasúl, a native of *Káshán, was carrying water from the Tigris on his back for the garden of the house of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, the Shí'ites attacked him with knives and daggers, wounded him grievously, and cleft his belly in such wise that his bowels protruded; yet would he not abandon the water-skin, but gathered up his bowels in his hand and in this plight entered the house, placed the water-skin on the ground, and yielded up his pure spirit. After this event, the Companions communicated by telegraph with His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, enquiring as to their duty; and the answer came to them from Adrianople "It behoves you to show fair patience." And when the Governor of Baghdád, Taqiyyu'd-Dín Pasha, perceived how the Shí'ites had risen up against this community, he summoned the Companions and detained them in the Government House for their own preservation, and informed the Sublime Porte by telegraph of what had happened. The Sublime Porte answered him by ordering the community to be banished to Mawṣil, in order to extinguish the fire of strife, and thither the Governor sent them under an escort of soldiers. Their expulsion coincided with the time when His Holiness our Master journeyed from Adrianople to 'Akká.

'Abdu'r-Rasúl murdered at Baghdád, April, 1868.

Bábís banished from Baghdád to Mawṣil.

* page 29.

Another of the martyrs of this community was a learned and accomplished man of Mázandarán named Mullá 'Alí Ján, whom they arrested with nine others, and brought to Ṭihrán. This happened in A.H. 1301 (A.D. 1883). After the lapse of some days they put the above-mentioned Mullá 'Alí Ján to death, while another of them named Ustád Núru'lláh died in prison. The rest they let go.

Mullá 'Alí Ján put to death at Ṭihrán in 1883.

Another of them was one named Mullá Káẓim, whom they arrested in Iṣfahán in A.H. 1295 (A.D. 1878), besides another man named Sayyid Áqá Ján. They beheaded Mullá Káẓim, mutilated his body, and burned it, by command of Shaykh Báqir the *Mujtahid* and the Governor of Iṣfahán Prince Mas'úd Mírzá *Ẓillu's-Sulṭán*, brother of Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh. *As for Sayyid Áqá Ján they tormented him grievously and expelled him from the city. After this there was trouble in Rasht, where they arrested and imprisoned a number of Bábís, amongst them Ḥájji Naṣír of Qazwín, who died in prison, being an old man of feeble health, unable to endure so many hardships. After his death the people subjected his body to all sorts of insults and savage deeds, plucking out his eyes, cutting off his nose, and finally stoning him with stones. No great while had elapsed ere another strange occurrence took place in Iṣfahán, the account of which is as follows[1].

Mullá Káẓim put to death at Iṣfahán in 1878.

Ḥájji Naṣír of Qazwín dies in prison at Rasht.

"The Martyrs of Iṣfahán."

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan and Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn were of the most noble of the *Sharífs* of Iṣfahán, and the former was a most

* page 30.

[1] Concerning these "Martyrs of Iṣfahán" see my *Bábís of Persia*, i, pp. 489—491, and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 213—215.

distinguished Sayyid, noble, highly considered, and influential. The *Imám-Jum'a* of Iṣfahán, who was named Mír Muḥammad Ḥusayn, hated the above-mentioned Sayyid for private reasons, and strove to injure him, wherein he was aided by Shaykh Báqir the *Mujtahid*. So these two agreed with the above-mentioned Governor to kill him and his brother and to plunder their possessions and property. So they arrested them and cast them into prison, and after some days beheaded them by sentence of the *Imám-Jum'a* and Shaykh Báqir afore-mentioned, who plundered their property, even to the trees and flowers in the garden of their house.

Martyrdom of Mírzá Ashraf of Ábáda in 1889.

Another of them was Mírzá Ashraf of Ábáda, a dependency of Iṣfahán, whom they strangled in Iṣfahán by sentence of the *Imám-Jum'a* and Shaykh Báqir in A.H. 1306 (A.D. 1889). After he had been strangled the people of Iṣfahán stoned his body[1].

Martyrdom of Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Majíd at Mashhad in 1878.

Another of them was Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Majíd of Khurásán, a native of Níshápúr, who was the father of *Janáb-i-Badí'*, who carried the letter of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh[2]. He suffered in Mashhad, the chief town of the province of Khurásán. After his arrest they exerted themselves to induce him to repudiate this faith, so that they might let him go; but he would not consent, and laid down his life in the way of his Master in A.H. 1296 (A.D. 1878).

*In Shíráz also they arrested Mírzá Áqá, Mírzá Rafí', and

[1] An account of Mírzá Ashraf's martyrdom will be found in my *Bábís of Persia*, ii, pp. 998—9.

[2] For an account of Mírzá Badí' see *infra*, pp. 47—9.

* page 31.

'Abdu'r-Nabí the tailor, and strangled them by night in the prison by sentence of Shaykh Ḥusayn the tyrant and by command of the Governor. They were strangled by forcing handkerchiefs into their throats, and it was given out that they had committed suicide in prison[1].

Three Bábís put to death at Shíráz.

Amongst them also were Mullá Ibráhím, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, Raḥmatu'lláh, Muḥammad 'Alí Nawshád and Sayyida Bíbí. These they arrested in Sulṭánábád and slew four of them by sentence of Sayyid Báqir the *Mujtahid*, who himself slew the above-mentioned Mullá Ibráhím with his own hands in the assembly. As for Sayyida Bíbí, they sent her to Ṭihrán, where she was strangled in prison[2].

Five Bábís put to death at Sulṭánábád.

Another of them was Mírzá Báqir of Shíráz, who attained martyrdom in the Way of God in Kirmán. And latterly, in A.H. 1308 (A.D. 1891) took place the persecution at Yazd[3], which was as follows. Eight of the Companions assembled in the house of one of the believers named Áqá 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, where they occupied themselves with reading verses. But one who hated them, being aware of their meeting, went to the Governor Prince Jalálu'd-Dín Mírzá, son of the *Ẓillu's-Sulṭán*, and informed him of their assembly. Thereupon the Governor ordered an officer to go to them, with as many private soldiers as might be necessary, and arrest them. And when they perceived what was happening, the master of the house and one of the eight visitors hid themselves, but the other seven

Martyrdom of Mírzá Báqir at Kirmán.

Persecution of Bábís at Yazd in 1891.

[1] Cf. my *Year amongst the Persians*, p. 516.

[2] For an independent and fuller account of this event by one who participated in it see my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 514—517.

[3] A full account of this persecution is given in Section VII.

were arrested and brought to the Government House and there imprisoned. After some days Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla summoned to his presence Shaykh Ḥasan the *Mujtahid* of Sabzawár and others of the Shí'ite doctors, and also the seven Bahá'ís mentioned above, and questioned the latter about their faith and creed in the presence of the two theologians mentioned above. They admitted that they belonged to this persuasion, whereupon Shaykh Ḥasan the *Mujtahid* and the other doctors pronounced them infidels and sentenced them to death. They were taken back to the prison, and after some days the Governor sent for them, and, turning to one of them called *Áqá 'Alí Aṣghar, the son of Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim, ordered him to revile and curse his Master, or else suffer death. "O Governor," replied the man, "thou hast no power over my [spiritual] essence, but my [bodily] frame is thine: do with it what thou wilt." Thereat the Governor was angered, and ordered Áqá 'Alí Aṣghar to be strangled in his presence, and he was strangled accordingly. Then he ordered the rest of them to be slain, each one in one of the quarters of the city. So they took them forth with soldiers and drums, and beheaded one of them named Mullá Mahdí near the telegraph-office. Then they beheaded Áqá 'Alí the son of Áqá Muḥammad Báqir. And when they approached the house of Shaykh Ḥasan the *Mujtahid*, they wished to kill Mullá 'Alí of Sabzawár. And he said, "O people, the Chief of Martyrs the Imám Ḥusayn cried in the land of Ṭaff, 'Is there any helper who will help me?' But I say, 'Is there any spectator who will behold me?'" And they beheaded him. They also slew Áqá Muḥammad Báqir near the Mihríz Gate; and afterwards they brought the two brothers Áqá 'Alí Aṣghar and Áqá

* page 32.

Muḥammad Ḥasan to the *Maydánu'l-Khán* (Square of the Inn). The executioner advanced to cut off the head of the elder brother Áqá 'Alí Aṣghar. The younger brother Áqá Muḥammad Ḥasan pressed forward, saying, "Cut off my head first!" But the headsman did not accede to his request, but beheaded the elder brother. The Khán who was superintending the executions exclaimed, "How strong is the heart of this lad, and how great is his boldness!" Then he ordered the executioner first to open his body and bring him his heart to look at; so he cleft open his body and plucked out his heart and his liver, and afterwards they bore him to the *Maydán* and cut off his head. He was only twenty-one years of age, and was newly wedded. After the martyrdom of these seven the roughs stoned their bodies and burned them with naphtha, after which they compelled the Jews to carry these slashed and charred bodies away and throw them into a pit in the plain called Salsabíl. Afterwards the Governor Jalálu'd-Dawla ordered *the city to be illuminated with lights, and the people began to display their joy and delight. Shortly after this event one of the Companions named Ustád Jawád the cotton-carder was missed, and they found his body outside the city. Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla also took one of them named Ḥájji Mullá Ibráhím outside the city, where he and his satellites hewed him in pieces by the light of the moon[1].

Let us return, however, to the topic which was engaging our attention, to wit the steamer in which were His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh and his family and servants.

* page 33.

[1] Concerning the "Martyrs of Yazd" see Section VII *infra*, where I shall give translations of several narratives received at the time. See also the Rev. Napier Malcolm's *Five Years in a Persian Town*, pp. 155—6, 176, etc.

It sailed at the close of day from Alexandria for Port Said, Jaffa and Ḥayfá, and on the 12th of the First Jumádá, A.H. 1285 (August 30, 1868), about one hour after sunrise, the steamer cast anchor in the harbour of Ḥayfá. Major 'Umar Efendi, the officer in charge, landed, and informed the local government of the arrival of our Master and those of his company. Then he returned and communicated to him the orders as to his debarkation at Ḥayfá. So his women and sons and family first embarked in the boats and after them His Holiness our Master.

Departure of Bahá'u'lláh from Alexandria for 'Akká, Aug. 30, 1868.

Orders had been issued from Constantinople for the banishment of four of the Companions, who had been persecuted there, to Cyprus. These had come to Gallipoli under the escort of the above-mentioned 'Umar Efendi, and they were Mírzá 'Alí, known as "the Traveller" (*Sayyáḥ*); Mírzá Ḥusayn the calligraphist, known as *Mushkín Qalam*; Áqá Muḥammad Báqir, coffee-maker to our Master; and Áqá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár known as 'Abdu'lláh[1]. But when the officer in charge consigned them to the steamer to send them to Cyprus, and the above-mentioned 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár saw himself parted from his Master, he cared no more to live and cast himself from the highest deck of the steamer into the sea, crying, "O Bahá, Bahá!" At that moment our Master was in the boat and had not yet arrived at the port, *and one of the sailors dived in and rescued him alive, and they again put him on board the steamer. And His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh entered the city of Ḥayfá about noon on the

Four Bahá'ís sent to Cyprus.

[1] Full details concerning these men and their families, derived from the Government archives in Cyprus, are given in my *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 376—389.

* page 34.

دردیارِ خط شهِ صاحبْ عَلَم
بندهٔ بابِ بها مشکین قلم

Mushkín Qalam.

To face p. 44.

12th of the First Jumádá, A.H. 1285 (August 30, 1868), and by his entry were fulfilled the promises contained in the Scriptures concerning Mount Carmel and Sion.

Bahá'u'lláh's arrival at 'Akká, Aug. 30, 1868.

A sailing-vessel had been set apart by the Government of Ḥayfá for the passage of His Holiness our Master to 'Akká, for in those days there were no carriages between Ḥayfá and 'Akká. And His Holiness our Master and those of his company entered the vessel shortly after midday, and in the course of the afternoon arrived at the harbour of 'Akká. His Holiness our Master was at that time fifty-two years of age. And on that day there assembled at the harbour most of the inhabitants of 'Akká to see the sight and gaze on the captives. And since the military barracks at 'Akká were at that time empty, the local government assigned them as a lodging for His Holiness our Master and those who bore him company. So the barracks had the honour of receiving them, and they locked the doors and set military sentinels over them. That night we could obtain no water to drink, save such stale and stagnant water in the tank there as was absolutely unfit for drinking. The community also remained without food that night until morning. After that, however, there were assigned to each one three loaves of bread, but they were utterly unfit for food, and used to be exchanged in the market for two [better] loaves so that it might be possible to eat them. In all ways matters went hard with this community. Ten soldiers were always on guard at the gate of the barracks, and each morning a number of the captives used to go to the market, escorted by some of the soldiers, for necessary business, but if it was requisite for any one to go *to the market a second time, they used to

* page 36 (really 35, but this number has been accidentally omitted in the pagination).

prevent him. Some time passed in this fashion, until the government altered the allotted dole of bread to a small daily allowance of money.

Sufferings of the Bahá'ís on arriving at 'Akká.

Since the arrival of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh and those who were with him at 'Akká took place in the summer season, when for various reasons the climate of 'Akká was very bad, twenty-eight of them fell sick, and their sickness was so grievous that in the course of a few days three of them died. One of these was named Abu'l-Qásim, a man of Sulṭánábád; the second was Muḥammad Báqir; and the third Muḥammad Isma'íl. These two last were brothers, and their deaths took place within a few hours of one another. At this time their means of livelihood were greatly straitened, and there was nothing to pay for their winding-sheets and burial; so a prayer-carpet was pawned and thereby money was obtained for the winding-sheets and burial. Afterwards the Companions bore forth their bodies, and as the Muḥammadans would not consent to their interment in their cemetery, native workmen dug a grave to the north of the Muḥammadan cemetery and buried the two dead exiles in one tomb.

Death of three Bahá'ís.

In short the weakness of sickness overcame these people, great and small, men and women, alike to an extent which cannot be described, and there was fear for all by reason of the violence of successive illnesses. Their sighs and lamentations rose up, until His Holiness our Master promulgated by his Holy Pen a prayer, which he commanded them to read with perfect sincerity and detachment. And after they had continued to read it for a time, matters improved and health and healing resulted, by the abounding Grace and Mercy of God. Here is the prayer:—

"*In the Name of God the Forgiving.*

"Though my evil state, O God, hath rendered me deserving of Thy scourge and chastisement, yet do Thy gracious regards and gifts require Thee to pardon Thy servants and to be merciful to Thy slaves. I ask Thee, therefore, by virtue of Thy Name which Thou hast made *the King of the Names, to preserve me by Thy Sovereignty and Power from every affliction and evil thing, and from everything which Thy Will hath not willed. Verily Thou art Powerful over all things."

Prayer for preservation from sickness prescribed by Bahá'u'lláh.

In the year A.H. 1286 (A.D. 1869) there came to 'Akká Áqá Buzurg of Khurásán, who was named by the Supreme Pen *al-Badí'* ("the Wonderful")[1] and "the Pride of Martyrs," and had the honour of being received in the military barracks by His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh. Thereafter he craved permission to carry "the King's Letter" to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh, and set out for Persia alone, carrying the holy letter above mentioned[2]. Agreeably to the commands of his glorious Master Bahá'u'lláh, he did not associate on the way with any one of this community, nor make himself known to one of them, until he entered

Mírzá Badí' comes to 'Akká in 1869.

* page 37.

[1] *Badí'* is one of the most popular and most celebrated of the Bahá'í martyrs. See my *Bábís of Persia*, ii, pp. 956—7; my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 101, 397; and my translation of the *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. xlv, 102—5.

[2] The Persian portion of this celebrated document is given in the text of the *Traveller's Narrative*, i, pp. 135—183 (=ii, pp. 108—151 of the translation), while the translation of the Arabic exordium and of the instructions to the messenger referred to in the next sentence is given at pp. 390—400 of Vol. ii of the same. The date of this event (see p. 392 *loc. cit.*) was July, 1869.

Ṭihrán the capital of Persia. And on a day when the Sháh, surrounded by his cavalcade, was going out to Shimrán, he stood in the way, and when the Sháh approached he presented the letter with his two hands with the utmost humility, respect, reliance [on God], and detachment [from all worldly hopes], saying, "I have come to thee with a Tablet from Bahá." And when the Sháh looked at him, he knew that he was one of this community, and was troubled, because ever since an event which happened at the beginning of the affair[1], as has been already mentioned, he went in fear of this community. So he asked for water thrice in a short space of time, after which he ordered his servants to take the letter from *Badí'*. But he refused to part with it, saying, "I am commanded to convey it to His Majesty the King, from my hand to his." They said to him, "Call it not 'a letter' but rather 'a petition.'" But he refused, and while so doing perceived that the Sháh was fearful of him. So he lifted up the skirt of his mantle which he was wearing and showed them that he was carrying no arms. Then after they had searched him well they brought him to the Sháh, and he handed the letter to him. Then they arrested him by the Sháh's command and tormented him much with all sorts of tortures that he might make avowal of his associates, if he had any such; but he would not confess anything, for, according to his Master's command, he was isolated, and had not held converse, either during *the journey or during his sojourn in the capital, with any one of this community. They photographed him sitting on the ground

Badí' is tortured and put to death (July, 1869).

[1] *viz.* the attempt on his life by three Bábís in the summer of 1852. See pp. 5—6 *supra*; *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 49—51 and the references given in the foot-note on p. 50, and pp. 323—334.

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with the utmost dignity and majesty, chained with a heavy chain, and on either side of him the tormentors, holding in their hands the ends of the chain; and this picture[1] was taken by the Sháh's orders after he had been tortured to the full. Then the Sháh ordered him to be put to death, and they slew him, though no crime can be charged against an ambassador, and, according to all laws and ordinances, it is unlawful to slay such an one. But after the Sháh had read the above-mentioned letter, he repented of killing the messenger when repentance was of no avail.

Death of Bahá'u'lláh's son Mírzá Mahdí, 1287/1870–1.

In A.H. 1287 (A.D. 1870–1) His Holiness "the Branch[2]" Áqá Mírzá Mahdí was walking on the roof of the building wherein dwelt His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh and the Holy Family in the barracks, communing with his Lord, when, in a fit of absent-mindedness and in the gathering darkness, he came, in the course of his preoccupation with his prayer and supplication, to a window in the middle of the roof for the admission of light and ventilation, set his foot on the aperture, and fell prone on the level ground. At the sound of his fall on the paved floor the Holy Family, hastening out, found him lying on the ground in a swoon. Their voices were upraised in wailing and lamentation, and they carried him in. After a while he recovered consciousness, and next day he asked to see the Companions, whom he received with kindness, gentleness and love, and on the next night his pure spirit ascended into the Eternal Kingdom. Let it not be hidden from the

[1] A reproduction of it will be found in Vol. ii of Ibráhím Khayru'lláh's book *Bahá'u'lláh* (Chicago, 1900), facing p. 420.

[2] *Ghuṣn* ("Branch," pl. *Aghṣán*) is the title given to the sons of Bahá'u'lláh, as the similar title of *Afnán* (which also means "Branches") is given to the relatives of the Báb.

discerning what sorrows befell the Holy Family in this severe affliction, while they were already overwhelmed by the hardships previously mentioned. In short, after carrying out the necessary preparations, they bore him forth, escorted by the guards, and deposited his body beyond the wall to the north of the station of the Prophet Ṣáliḥ; for a slight earthquake had taken place at that time.

After the lapse of some months the hardships which befell them gave rise to doubt in the minds of those *who were of the company of His Holiness our Master, and they began to turn aside from the path of truth and steadfastness, and to forsake loyalty and love, save a certain number who continued in faithfulness, sincerity and fidelity, by the grace of the Eternal Lord. The schism was fierce, nor do I care to discuss it in detail. Whoever desires to understand it in full, let him read a Persian Tablet revealed by the Supreme Pen in these days concerning this trouble.

Different quarters assigned to Bahá'u'llah in 'Akká.

After His Holiness our Master had continued in the military barracks for two years and twelve days, a body of reserve troops came to the barracks for instruction, and there was assigned to our Master by the Government the house of Andraos Malik, which was in the western quarter of the city. He abode there eight months, and [subsequently] in the house of Manṣúr al-Khawwám four months, and in the house of ar-Rábi'a four months. Thence he was transferred to the house of 'Údí Khammár, while some of those who were with him lodged in other houses, and the remainder in the Khánu'l-'Awámíd ("the Inn of the Columns").

When His Holiness our Glorious Master Bahá'u'lláh resolved to leave the City of Baghdád and to go to Constanti-

* page 39.

nople agreeably to the command of the Ottoman Government, Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán was one of those who bore him company until his arrival at Adrianople. Then he dwelt in the Maḥallu'l-Barráni in the Holy House; but after a while he began to display a contentious spirit, and went to the Shaykh of the Mevleví dervishes, took up his abode there, allied himself with Mírzá Yaḥyá known as *Azal* [*i.e. Ṣubḥ-i-Azal*], and embarked on a course of falsehood and calumny, both within and without [the community]. Then took place the "Supreme Schism," and His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'llah left his house called *Baytu Amri'lláh* ("the House of God's Command"), and took up his abode in the house of Riẓá Bey, closed the gate of intercourse to all, and left them to their own devices. Then the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán, seizing the opportunity, went to Constantinople and there allied himself with Áqá Ján entitled *Kaj-Kuláh* ("Skew-cap"), who resided there, *and embarked on a course of lies, calumny, sedition and intrigue with the Persian Ambassador, Mírzá Ḥusayn Khán of Qazwín, and the Ministers of the Ottoman Empire in regard to His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, in connection with the malevolent efforts of the above-mentioned Persian Ambassador to influence the Prime Minister 'Álí Pasha and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Fu'ád Pasha. So an edict was issued by Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz banishing His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh from Adrianople to 'Akká, and the Sublime Porte also banished the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥammad and Áqá Ján from Constantinople to 'Akká, where the local government lodged them also in the military barracks. But after some days they requested the Government to let them live in the town, and, on receiving its

Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán's opposition.

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permission, they transferred their abode to the town of 'Akká.

Alleged mischief-making of Sayyid Muḥammad and Mírzá Riẓá-qulí.

After our most Glorious Master had left the barracks, and, together with those of his company, taken up his abode in the town, one of the followers named Mírzá Riẓa-qulí of Tafrish and his sister, together with the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán, began to make mischief, and busied themselves in actions calculated to excite and arouse the native population against His Holiness our great Master and those who accompanied him. Amongst these actions was that they concocted a treatise of certain holy verses culled from many different tracts and tablets, inserting therein phrases calculated to excite hatred between different nations, and of this they made numerous copies, which they distributed amongst high and low. People belonging to civilized countries may, perhaps, not perceive any great significance in what has been mentioned as to the compilation by the malignants of this treatise or the publication of copies of it in the city, nor behold in it a means of exciting hatred, having regard only to what they enjoy in the way of civilization, liberty, ethical latitude, education in religious freedom, and lack of prejudice against any sect; but if they consider the conditions obtaining in Eastern countries, their lack of religious freedom, the blood shed in consequence of religious fanaticism, and the ruin which hath encompassed these lands in consequence of sectarian differences, they will recognize what hath been mentioned as the greatest incentive *to mischiefs, hardships and calamities, since thereby hatred is stirred in men's hearts, the fire of strife and sedition is enflamed amongst

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the people, and the fiercest persecutions befall those who utter a new message or express a new opinion at variance with the opinions of former churches. Indeed there does not exist in uncivilized countries any source of afflictions greater than that whereof mention hath been made, as is proved by what hath befallen this community in the land of Persia during a long period of fierce persecutions, as has been briefly indicated in this little treatise. To be brief, their numerous efforts to stir up mischief and their provocative actions caused bitter sorrows to all the Friends, and grievous trouble befell them, because they conceived these provocative actions and designs to have caused the efforts of the people to hurt His Holiness our Gracious Master, and feared the occurrence of some great mischief whereof the hurt might chiefly affect our Master Bahá'u'lláh. It therefore occurred to them to deal themselves with the evil of these persons, and they began secretly to scheme for this. But since this was contrary to the will of His Holiness our Master they did not venture to disclose their purpose. At this juncture one of the Companions, an Arab of Baghdád named Náṣir and commonly called Ḥájji 'Abbás, was in Beyrout, and when he became cognizant of the actual circumstances he set out for 'Akká to deal with the evil of these persons. On his arrival he submitted the details [of his plan] to His Holiness our Glorious Master, who summoned him and stringently prohibited his design, issuing for him a special Tablet in his own holy writing, which ran as follows:

Action against Sayyid Muḥammad meditated by certain Bahá'ís.

"HE is the Helper.

"I bear witness that thou hast helped thy Lord, and art one of the helpers. To [the truth of] my testimony all things testify: this indeed is the root of the matter, if thou

art of those who know. What thou dost by His command and approval is indeed the duty of help in the sight of thy Lord the All-knowing and All-understanding. Go hence *and do not perpetrate that wherefrom mischief will result! Put thy trust in God: verily He will take whomsoever He will: verily He hath power over all things. Verily we have accepted what thou didst intend in the Way of God. Return to thy place: then commemorate thy Lord, the Mighty, the Praiseworthy."

And when the above-mentioned Náṣir had read this holy Tablet, he abandoned the plan which he had conceived and returned to Beyrout, the place where he dwelt.

The Author forbidden to take action against Sayyid Muḥammad.

But some of the Companions held a secret conclave to deal with the evil of the persons above mentioned, and the author of this book was with them, concurring with them in their ideas. One day he asked permission from his Mighty Master to enter his presence, and when he appeared before him he submitted to him the ideas of the Companions, one of whom, called Áqá Muḥammad Ibráhím of Káshán, was present. But His Holiness our Lord Bahá'u'lláh strictly forbade the author [from pursuing his design], and ordered him to go and remain in his house and not meddle in such affairs. Then the above-mentioned Áqá Muḥammad Ibráhím made representation to His Holiness our Lord, saying, "Verily our silence and patience have encouraged the boldness of the adversaries and their persistence in mischief and sedition." Then His Holiness our Master commanded one of those present to expel the above-mentioned Áqá Muḥammad Ibráhím from his presence, and he expelled him, while the author of this book confined

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himself to his house, and withdrew from those who were resolved to deal with the evil of these malignants.

Assassination of Sayyid Muḥammad and other Azalís by Bahá'ís, Jan. 22, 1872.

Now those who were agreed to execute the plan which hath been mentioned were Ustád 'Abdu'l-Karím the turner, Ustád Muḥammad 'Alí the barber of Iṣfahán, Ustád Aḥmad and his nephew Mírzá Ḥusayn the carpenter of Káshán, Áqá Muḥammad Ibráhím of Káshán, Mírzá Ja'far of Yazd, and Áqá Ḥusayn of Káshán the cook. These began to consort with the malignants under a semblance of sympathy and concord, for the better execution of their plans, and continued for some time to converse and associate with them. Then they came in unto them one afternoon in a house which was opposite to the dwelling of the *mutaṣarrif* of the town, and killed Sayyid * Muḥammad, Áqá Ján, and Mírzá Riẓá-qulí afore-mentioned on the 12th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1288 (January 22, 1872)[1]. The local government being apprized of the matter arrested the seven persons above mentioned, and also all the Bábís domiciled at 'Akká, most of whom, when this event took place, were busy with their professional avocations in the markets of the town. The administration assembled them all in the Government House, and likewise summoned thither His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, his two sons 'Abbás Efendi and Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, Mírzá Muḥammad-qulí, and *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh* [Áqá Ján of Káshán]. At the fourth hour of the night they removed His Holiness our Master, his two sons (*al-Ghuṣnayn*) and Mírzá Muḥammad-qulí from

Arrest of Bahá'u'lláh and his sons.

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[1] Concerning the murder of these Azalís, see my *Bábís of Persia*, i, p. 517, and ii, p. 995; *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 370—1; and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 512—514.

the Government House, and lodged our Master and [his son] Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi in a chamber in the Sháh-verdí Khán beside the harbour, 'Abbás Efendi [his other son] at the harbour, and Mírzá Muḥammad-qulí in another place. But *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh* and the Companions generally passed the night in the prison of the Government House, wearing chains on their feet. But since His Holiness Músá Efendi[1] was in bad health, and there was no one else to watch over and make arrangements for the wives of the Companions, they left him and his son Majdu'd-Dín Efendi, who had not yet reached years of maturity, in his lodging at the Khán, where most of the Companions dwelt. But when the Governor Ṣubḥí Pasha was informed of this transaction, he was displeased with Ṣáliḥ Pasha, the commandant of 'Akká, for what he had done to His Holiness our Master in transferring him from his house and lodging him in the place above mentioned, and reprimanded him for this. Next day, therefore, they assigned a room overlooking the harbour, set apart for the quarters of the Artillery major, as a lodging for His Holiness our Master, with whom were his two sons above mentioned, and Mírzá Muḥammad-qulí. On the afternoon of the third day they brought His Holiness our Master and those who were with him to the Government House, and, after interrogating them, to the house [assigned to them]. On the way thither His Holiness our Master called to his Servant *who was imprisoned in the Government House with the other Companions and took him with him; and the above-mentioned period [of his detention] was sixty hours or more. Now His Holiness our Great Master, when he was at the Government House, was questioned, as

[1] The brother of Bahá'u'lláh, entitled *Músá Kalím*, because, like the original Moses, he conversed with God, *i.e.* Bahá'u'lláh.

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Right. Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.*
Centre. His son Áqá-yi-Núr.
Left. His son Áqá-yi-Bahháj.

Right. Mullá Muḥammad Ja'far of Kirmán.
Centre. Sayyid Jawád of Karbalá.
Left. Front row (R. to L.):—Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán; Bahá'u'lláh's brother Músá, entitled "Kalím"; Mírzá 'Alí Sirrí.
Back row (R. to L.):—Áqá Ján of Káshán (Khádimu'lláh); Sayyáh ("the Traveller").

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is customary, concerning his name and country. To this he replied, "My name is Bahá'u'lláh and my home is Núr" (or "the Light"), alluding to his native country in Mázandarán which is called Núr. Then His Holiness our Master addressed those who were present in the assembly there, and said, "O people of the assembly, you have adopted your own principles and have cast behind you the principles of God. What ails you that you will not understand?" But since his Honour the Servant of God hath written a detailed account of this event, the author of this book will content himself with this summary.

Imprisonment of Bahá'ís on account of assassination of Azalís.

The period of detention of the Companions in the prison of the Government House lasted six days, and on the seventh day they sent the seven murderers to the harbour, and the remainder of the Companions to the Sháh-verdí Khán, which is situated beside the harbour and is set apart for military purposes. These were sixteen in number, and their imprisonment lasted six months and six days. Towards the end of this period there issued from the Supreme Pen a prayer for deliverance, and a command to the Companions to recite it; and by his Help and Grace they were all released, and reoccupied their lodgings as they were before. This prayer was as follows:

"O Lord of the Names and Creator of the Heaven! Deliver Thy friends from the prison of Thine enemies! Verily Thou art the Ruler of Destiny, who ariseth from the horizon of apparition. O Source of Immortality, by the Life of Bahá cut not off hope, but help these [Thy servants]! Thou orderest what Thou wilt, and in Thy hand is the Kingdom of Creation. The fangs [of foes] are whetted for the flesh of the Friends: save the Companions, O Lord of the necks [of all men] and Ultimate Judge!"

Punishment of the seven assassins.

As for the seven murderers above mentioned, they were condemned, according to the law, to imprisonment, one for seven years, two for ten years, and the remaining four for fifteen years, but during the years of their imprisonment they obtained a mitigation, according to the custom current in this country, namely, the remission of a third of the period on certain special days. But His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, notwithstanding the fact that, apart from his spiritual control and inward power, he had enough external influence and authority to release these seven, or to alleviate their duresse, did nevertheless abandon them to their legal punishment, and did not seek to obtain for them any release or mitigation, because their action was taken without his approval or consent, and contrary to permanent and decisive commands, as when he says, "That ye should be slain in pleasing Him is better for you than that ye should slay"; and again, "If anyone is angered against you, oppose to him gentleness; and if anyone reviles you, revile him not."

Bahá'u'lláh takes up his residence outside 'Akká, 1877–1880.

*Nine years elapsed after this event during which His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh never went outside 'Akká. But when it was the 12th of the First Jumádá, A.H. 1294 (25th of May, 1877), he went to the Garden of Riḍwán, which lies between the two rivers to the east of the town, where he remained nine days and then returned to 'Akká. And towards the close of the year above-mentioned he rented the Palace of 'Abdu'lláh Pasha which lies to the north of 'Akká at a distance of about an hour and a half from the town; and at times he used to live in the town and at other times in the Palace, until the year A.H. 1298 (A.D. 1880), when he rented the Palace of 'Údí Khammár

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situated in a northerly direction at a distance of half an hour from 'Akká. Most of his time he passed in this Palace, in the company of his three sons and his family and his Honour the Servant of God, while 'Abbás Efendi with his sister and children remained at 'Akká. Sometimes he used to visit the town, and while he dwelt outside the town visitors, whether pilgrims or [resident] Companions, used to have the honour of seeing him after permission had been obtained by them, and used to spend some days and nights there, and then return by permission to their dwellings at 'Akká.

Bahá'u'lláh's excursions in the neighbourhood of 'Akká.

Many spots in the town were honoured by the approach of our Master Bahá'u'lláh, and likewise numerous places and villages outside it, all of which are mentioned in another history by the author more detailed than this. So likewise he visited Ḥayfá four times, and on the last occasion he honoured with his presence the White House of Elias (*Bayt Ilyás al-Abyaḍ*) in A.H. 1308 (A.D. 1890), and abode there three months. He also honoured Mount Carmel, and went one day to the French monastery on the Mountain, where he remained until the close of day. There he issued a Tablet in which he made mention of His Holiness the Spirit [of God][1] and His sufferings.

Improvement of conditions at 'Akká.

In the later years of his sojourn at 'Akká external conditions * were the opposite of those which first prevailed, for his fame waxed great; power, majesty and triumph were apparent; and the eyes of all were watching this community with veneration and respect. His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh remarked one day, "Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz banished us to this country in the greatest abasement, and since his object was to

[1] *i.e.* Jesus Christ, who is so called by the Muḥammadans.

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destroy us and humble us, whenever the means of glory and ease presented themselves, we did not reject them."

In short, notwithstanding these circumstances and materials of glory, ease and joy, we used to discover signs of sadness in His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh to an extent which neither writing nor utterance can express, and which hath never been witnessed at any time, as appears from sundry Holy Tablets. Thus in one of these he says:

"O thou who circlest round my Throne and art present before my Face, dost thou weep for God's own self working for His purpose, or do I weep with mine eyes for it? By God's Life, all things weep for what hath befallen this oppressed one at the hands of those who deny, after we had created them for pure Truth, and had taught them the clear, straight way of God. If one should ask thee about Bahá, say, 'Verily he is under the claws of hatred. Alas, alas for what hath befallen me from every tyrant, from every sinner, from every liar, from every careless one, from every deluded one, from every suspicious one, from every deceitful trickster!' If one should ask thee about the Lote-tree (*Sidra*), say, 'Verily it is under the swords of all mankind.' Alas, alas for what hath befallen this oppressed one from the hosts of the wicked! The smoke of vain imaginings hath overwhelmed some men: therefore doth the eye of my spirit lament and the groaning of my heart rise up. We ask God, most Blessed and most High is He, to cleanse His servants from the defilement of doubts and the dust of vain imaginings: verily he is Powerful over all things."

And in another passage he says:

"*In my Name the Oppressed, from my most great Prison.* *By my life, and my sorrow, and my affliction, if the Supreme Pen had addressed itself with the invocation 'O much-

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wronged one!' from this moment until the day which hath no end, it would have the right so to do. Oppression in all its kinds and forms hath descended upon the dawning-places of the Light and the day-springs of the Theophany, both of old time and now; but there hath descended on this Oppressed one that which hath no likeness and no similitude."

He also said repeatedly, addressing some of the Companions:

"I desire a dark and narrow dwelling, that I may lament and weep over my wrongs[1]."

All men used to wonder at beholding these grievous sorrows, not knowing what was their cause or who their originator, for how should there occur to the heart [of any one] the events and circumstances which became known [only] after [the death of] His Holiness our Master?

Bahá'u'lláh falls sick, May 10, 1892—

On the 12th of Shawwál, A.H. 1309 (10th of May, 1892) His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh was attacked by a fever, which ceased after two days. Subsequently, however, another attack of fever supervened, and a general disturbance of health resulted. The period of this sickness lasted nineteen days, and his Ascension [*i.e.* death] took place on the second night of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da at dawn, A.H. 1309 (May 28, 1892) in the Palace of 'Údí Khammár at [the Garden of] Bahja[2]. Alas! how can I describe this awful calamity, this supremely

—and dies on May 28, 1892.

[1] Compare Tennyson's *Maud*:

"Always I long to creep
Into some still cavern deep
There to weep, and weep, and weep...."

[2] This means "Joy," but *Bahja* is said to be a corruption of *Baghcha*, the Turkish word for a garden. See the *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. xxxvii—xli.

terrible event, whereat tears flowed unceasingly and lamentations arose from all sides. Even now, though twelve years have passed[1], the author's eyes weep when he sets himself to describe it, his heart throbs, and his spirit suffers so violent a perturbation that naught can exceed it. God knoweth and witnesseth what I say!

This work composed about 1904.

The resting-place of his Holy Temple [*i.e.* body] is the most northerly house of the three houses lying to the west of the Palace above-mentioned, namely the house of Ḥajji Sayyid 'Alí *Afnán*[2], the son-in-law of His Holiness our Great Master, in the northernmost room of that house. The body was there laid to rest before the last prayer on the third *night of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da [A.H. 1309 = May 29, 1892].

Place of burial of Bahá'u'lláh.

When His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh had completed his eighteenth year the mother of 'Abbás Efendi, whose name was Nawwáb, enjoyed the honour of being received into his presence, in the year A.H. 1251 (A.D. 1835). She bore him first of all a son named Mírzá Ṣádiq, who was born in Ṭihrán the capital of Persia, and died there after three or four years. Secondly, 'Abbás Efendi, who was born in Ṭihrán in A.H. 1257 (A.D. 1841). Thirdly, a daughter, Bahiyya Khánim, who was born in Ṭihrán in A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844); and these two are still living. Fourthly, Mírzá 'Ali Muḥammad, who was born in Ṭihrán, lived seven years, and died in Mázandarán. Fifthly, Mírzá Mahdí, who was born in Ṭihrán and died in the military barracks at

Wives and children of Bahá'u'lláh.

[1] This indicates A.D. 1904 as the date of composition of this work.

[2] The Báb's kinsman, whom I met at 'Akká in April, 1890. See *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. xxxvii—xxxviii.

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'Akká in A.H. 1287 (A.D. 1870–1). Sixthly, Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, who was born in Baghdád, lived two years, and died there.

Bahá'u'lláh's second wife, *Mahd-i-'Ulyá*, and her children.

In A.H. 1266 (A.D. 1849) the mother of Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, whose name was *Mahd-i-'Ulyá*[1], enjoyed the honour of being received into the presence of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh. She bore him first Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi in Baghdád in A.H. 1270 (A.D. 1853), who is still living. Secondly, a daughter, Ṣamadiyya Khánim, who was born in Baghdád, lived 49 years, and died in A.H. 1322 (A.D. 1904) in the Palace of Bahja [at 'Akká]. Thirdly, Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, who was born in Baghdád, lived two years, and died there. Fourthly, a daughter named Sádhajiyya, who was born at Baghdád, lived two years, and died at Constantinople during the days when His Holiness our Master was sojourning there before he went to Adrianople. Fifthly, Ẓiyá'u'lláh Efendi, who was born at Adrianople in A.H. 1282 (A.D. 1865), lived thirty-four years, and died in A.H. 1316 (A.D. 1898) at Ḥayfá, *whence his holy body was conveyed to the Palace of Bahja outside 'Akká, and was laid to rest within the Holy Place in a little space beneath the feet of His Holiness our Master. Sixthly, Badí'u'lláh Efendi, who was born in Adrianople in A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868), that is in the last year [spent in that city], and who is still living.

Bahá'u'lláh 76 years old at the time of his death.

His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh abode in the World of Creation 76 years and 10 months, of which period 24 years were spent in the Most Great Prison ['Akká]. During his sojourn there he issued letters to the great kings, leaders of

[1] This means "the Most High Cradle," and is the title generally given to the king's mother.

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men and doctors, in each of which he explained his Manifestation and the objects he had in view. All of them were collected, headed by an Introduction, and [collectively] entitled *Súratu'l-Haykal*[1]. He also issued the *Kitábu'l-Aqdas* ("Most Holy Book"), in which are contained addresses to certain kings and men of leading, and likewise many other books and letters, amounting, with what he promulgated before his arrival at 'Akká, to a hundred volumes. In all these writings he commanded all men to reform their morals and conduct, to associate with mankind in love and harmony with spiritual faculties, and, in short, enjoining all that would advantage them and forbidding all that would hurt them, both in secret and in public. For a blessing the author will here set down some of his lofty utterances, so that his readers may take cognizance of them.

His writings: *Súra-i-Haykal*: *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*.

Amongst other passages he has one in Persian of which this is the translation:

"I swear by the Sun of Truth, which ariseth and appeareth from the horizon of this Most Great Prison, that the Beauty of Eternity desireth not strife and contention, or aught whereby men's hearts are troubled. Refer to the Tablets, where he says[2]: 'Consort with [the adherents of] all religions with spirituality and fragrance.' The purpose of this Theophany is that the fire of Hate, which hath been kindled in the hearts of the creeds, should be appeased and extinguished by the Heavenly Water[3]

Selected quotations from Bahá'u-'lláh's Works.

[1] See my *Bábís of Persia*, ii. pp. 954—8; and Baron V. Rosen's *Collections scientifiques*, Vol. vi, *Manuscrits Arabes*, pp. 191—208. Also the Index of my *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, and especially the *Corrigenda* on p. lv.

[2] This well-known quotation is from the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*.

[3] *Kawthar*, commonly believed by the Muslims to be the name of a fountain or river in Paradise.

of the Divine Counsel and Celestial Admonition. In this very year, which is the year A.H. 1306 (corresponding to the year 1888 A.D.) there was revealed *a Tablet in the writing of this Oppressed One wherein this most exalted Word shone forth from the horizon of the Supreme Pen: 'O people! Speak well of [men your fellow-] servants, not evil, nor that whereby their souls may be saddened.' All mention of evil, too, is forbidden in this Law, because the tongue [exists] for the commemoration of the Truth, and it is an abomination that it should be defiled with evil-speaking, or should utter words [apt] to cause sorrow to God's servants or to grieve them."

Again:

"The most glorious fruit of the Tree of Intelligence is this lofty Word: 'All of you are the fruit of one Tree and the leaves of one Branch. It is not for him who loves his country to be proud, but [rather] for him who loves the whole world.'"

Again:

"O people of Bahá! Ye are the Rising-places of Love and the Day-springs of the Divine Grace. Do not defile the tongue with the vituperation and cursing of any one. Keep the eye from that which is not seemly. Be not the cause of sorrow, much less of strife and sedition."

Again:

"There hath been revealed and manifested the Religion of God and the Faith of God from the Heaven of the Divine Will for the unity and concord of the people of the world. Make it not, then, a cause of difference and strife."

Again:

"The object of all that hath been shown forth is that

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men's ears should be prepared to listen to this lofty Word, which is, 'O people of the earth, make not God's Religion a cause of hatred! Say, "By God's Life, the Doctrine of God and His Religion have come for unity and concord, not for difference and strife. To this witnesseth the Mother of the Book[1]."'"

Again, in the "Book of the Last Testament" (*Kitábu'l-Waṣiyya*):

"The object of this Oppressed One in enduring hardships and afflictions, revealing verses, and manifesting proofs is to extinguish the Fire of hatred and malice, that perchance the horizons of men's hearts may be illuminated with the Light of Concord, and may attain to true Peace. The Light of this declaration hath shone forth and arisen from the horizon of God's Tablet. Let each one, then, regard it! O people of the World! I enjoin on you that which will conduce to the exaltation of your stations. Take hold of the fear of God; cling to the skirt of virtue! I say, 'The tongue is for the commemoration of the Good; do not defile it *with foul speech. God hath pardoned what hath passed. Henceforth it behoves that each one should speak according to what is fitting, avoiding cursing and reviling, and that whereby man is rendered sorrowful.'"

And again:

"O people of the world! The Way of God is for love and unity: do not make it a cause of enmity and discord! There hath been revealed from the Supreme Pen what shall conduce to the preservation, and cause the peace and ease, of God's servants with those who possess the greater insight and the larger outlook."

[1] *Ummu'l-Kitáb*, *i.e.* the original Scripture, before it is translated by the process of revelation into any human tongue.

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And again:

"It is hoped that the people of Bahá will have regard to the Blessed Word, 'Say, all are from God.' This sublime utterance is as Water to extinguish the Fire of the hatred and malice enshrined and entrenched in men's hearts and bosoms. Through this one word the different races shall attain to the Light of true unity. Verily He speaketh truly and guideth men into the right Way."

And again:

"By the Most Great Name, if one of the Companions vexeth any one, it is as though he had vexed God Himself. Ye are forbidden strife, quarrelling, sedition, murder and the like thereof with a stringent prohibition in God's Book."

And again:

"That which advantageth the world is acceptable and desirable in God's sight, whatever it may be; and all else is repudiated, whatever it may be, because this Manifestation is for the salvation of the world, its reform, its unity, its concord and its comfort."

And again:

"I swear by the Sun of the Dawning of the Divine Unity, if the Friends of God be slain it is better in the eyes of this Oppressed One than that they should injure anyone. O [my] servants! The Beauty of the All-merciful hath appeared for the quickening of the world and the uniting of its people, not to give rise to differences and the shedding of blood."

And again:

"Say, 'O people of God and ye divers peoples of the World! Strive to help, and purify the world of Love and Affection from the defilement of discord and hatred, that perhaps the souls of men may be at peace and may attain to true Freedom! I swear by the Sun of Truth that Bahá

neither hath sought nor seeketh aught but the purification of the world from all matters which conduce to hurt, harm and despair. Arise in the strength of the Supreme Pen*, that perhaps this aim may become manifest, and may save the world.'"

Again:

"The Supreme Pen hath commanded the Saints, both during the nights and the days, to do good, and hath forbidden them to do evil. In one of the Tablets this lofty Word hath been revealed: 'Blessed is that soul which heareth and doth not speak. If they see good from anyone let them strive to reward him, and if they see injury, let them be patient and leave [him] to God. Striking, cursing, war, strife, slaying and plunder are the actions of the wild beasts of the dens of cruelty and ignorance: the people of God are purified and freed from all these things. It is necessary that all should strive to reform the world. The world is one country, and God's servants are one family, did they but know it. All must work in perfect unity and concord for its amelioration. He is the All-knowing Counsellor and the Wise Exponent.'"

Again:

"Say, O my Saints, cling to piety and take hold of good actions. Adorn your heads with the diadem of justice, and your bodies with the robe of trustworthiness and equity. Forsake strife and contention, and occupy yourselves with unity and concord."

Again:

"O diligent servant! It is hoped that the people of God may hearken to His counsels, and may not do in any age or generation aught but what God hath commanded them, but may be steadfast in well-doing and reform, in such

* page 52.

wise that though the greater part of the people of God should agree in any matter, and thereafter the savour of mischief should [be perceived] from it, they should avoid it, for the following of such company is unlawful in God's sight. Ye are forbidden sedition and strife in the Book of God with a stringent prohibition. O people of Bahá, unite in well-doing, and agree in the reformation of the world!"

Again:

"The object of this Oppressed One from the beginning of days until now is that men should not make God's religion a cause of hatred, but should consort and deal with all who are on the earth with spirituality and fragrance."

Again:

"O people of God, do not concern yourselves *with yourselves: take thought for the reformation of the world and the purification of its peoples. The reformation of the world will be [effected] by good and pure deeds and gracious and well-pleasing virtues. Deeds are the ally of religion, and virtues its aider. O people of Bahá, cling fast to virtue. This is what this Oppressed One hath decreed, and what this Sovereign One hath chosen."

Again:

"Happy that soul which weepeth in its bed, while its heart is illuminated with the love of the people of the world!"

Again he says in Arabic[1]:

"Look to what is beside you[2] as ye look to yourselves. This is the Way of God, if ye are of those who know, and this is the Religion of God, if ye are of those who hear."

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[1] Thus far the citations are, apparently, taken from Bahá'u'lláh's Persian writings, translated by the author into Arabic.

[2] *i.e.* to your other fellow-creatures.

Again :

"O my friends, ye were not created for yourselves, but for the world. Put aside what advantageth you [only], and adopt that whereby the world is advantaged."

Again :

"O son of man, if thou lookest for virtue, put aside what advantageth thee, and adopt that whereby [God's] servants are advantaged; and if thou lookest for justice, choose for others what thou choosest for thyself. Verily at one time humility exalteth man to the Heaven of Glory and Power, and at another [it abaseth him] to the lowest station of abasement and contrition."

Again :

"O people of earth, make not God's Religion a cause of difference amongst you! Verily He hath revealed the Truth for the concord of all who are in the world. Fear God, and be not of the ignorant. Blessed is he who loveth the world sincerely for the sake of His Gracious Lord."

Again :

"Blessed is he who devotes himself to the service of the world."

Again :

"O my saints, verily We have enjoined on you righteousness and piety, and have forbidden you rebellion and sin, and everything whereby [God's] servants are saddened in the sphere of humanity in creation. Devote your energies to the help of [God's] servants and that whereat your hearts shall rejoice."

Again :

"Beware lest the lusts of the flesh and passion should separate you. Be like the fingers on the hand or the limbs in the body. Thus doth the Pen of Revelation admonish you, if ye be of those who surely believe."

Again:

"Verily we counsel [God's] servants.*in these days wherein the Face of Justice is darkened and the cheek of ignorance is brightened, and the veil of understanding is rent, and comfort and faithfulness have decreased, and trouble and affliction overflow; and wherein covenants are violated, and ties are broken, and no soul knoweth what shall cause it to see or make it blind, or what shall lead it astray or guide it aright. Say, 'O people, abandon villainies and adopt virtues: be a good exemplar amongst mankind and a page whereby men shall be admonished. Whosoever sets himself to serve this Dispensation, it is for him to show wisdom and strive to diminish ignorance from amongst mankind.' Say, 'Agree in your speech and be at one in your judgement. Make your morning more excellent than your evening, and your to-morrow better than your yesterday. The virtue of man is in service and perfection, not in luxury, affluence and wealth. Sanctify your sayings from crookedness and passion, and purify your deeds from doubt and hypocrisy.' Say, 'Do not spend the coin of your precious lives in carnal appetites, nor limit your actions to [the attainment of] your personal advantages. Spend when ye find, and be patient when you are in want. Verily after every hardship cometh relaxation, and with every trouble calm. Avoid slothfulness and idleness, and take hold of that whereby the world shall be advantaged, both small and great, old men and widows.' Say, 'Beware lest ye sow the tares of enmity amongst mankind, or the thorns of doubts in pure and luminous hearts.' Say, 'O friends of God, do not that whereby the purity of the River of Love shall be perturbed or the fragrance of Charity shall be cut off. By my Life, ye were created for love, not for hatred and frowardness. There is no glory

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in loving yourselves, but in loving your fellow-creatures. There is no virtue in loving your country, but in loving the world. Be chaste in your glances, faithful in your hands, truthful in your tongue, * and mindful in your heart. Do not degrade those who are learned in [the faith of] Bahá, nor disparage the worth of the governors who exercise justice amongst you. Make justice your army, reason your armour, and forgiveness, virtue and that whereby the hearts of the saints rejoice your distinctive characteristic.'"

Again:

"And those who work mischief in the earth, and shed blood, and consume men's property wrongfully, from such we dissociate ourselves, asking God that He will not cause us to foregather with them either in this world or the next, unless they repent unto Him: verily He is the most Merciful of the merciful. Verily he who turns to God, it is necessary for him to be distinguished from all others in his actions, and to follow what is enjoined on him in the Scripture. Thus hath the matter been decided in a perspicuous Book."

There are many exhortations, injunctions and wise sayings after this sort, for which, did the author wish to collect them, this brief treatise would not suffice, but rather it would need the compilation of many volumes. Therefore he hath contented himself with this amount.

The loftiness of the teachings and counsels of His Holiness our Great Master Bahá'u'lláh in His days produced a great effect on the character of His Companions and showed far-reaching results, so that they attained in virtuous attributes, good manners, humane conduct and spiritual qualities to a station where they were seen, on occasions of afflictions, sorrows, calamities and troubles, [to be] patient, acquiescent,

* page 55.

thankful, acting according to the purport of this Blessed Verse of the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*:

"Whosoever is angered against you, meet him with kindness, and he who revileth you, revile him not."

And this verse:

"That ye should be slain for His good pleasure is better than that ye should slay."

In short, by the elevating influence of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh they used to meet the oppressor with gentleness, the aggressor with pardon, and the vituperator with love. In many lands they were slain but did not slay, notwithstanding their power so to do on some occasions, as *happened at 'Ishqábád (Askabad) in Russia[1], where the Shí'ites dwelling there one day murdered one of this community named Ḥájji Muḥammad Riẓá of Iṣfahán in the public thoroughfare with cutting, wounding iron weapons, such as daggers, knives and the like. The crime was proved against them in the law-court, and sentence was pronounced by the Russian Government that the two murderers[2] should be hanged. But when the gallows was erected for their execution, the Companions [*i.e.* the Bahá'ís] went to the Governor and begged that intercession might be made with His Majesty the Emperor for their release and pardon. So the Governor interceded, and the sentence of death was commuted, by command of the Emperor, to banishment to Siberia.

Assassination of Ḥájji Muḥammad Riẓá of Iṣfahán by Shí'ites at 'Ishqábád, Sept. 8, 1889.

* page 56.

[1] Concerning this event, which happened on September 8, 1889, see my *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 411—412, and for a fuller account, with the *pièces justificatives*, Baron Victor Rosen's *Collections scientifiques*, Vol. vi, *Manuscrits Arabes*, pp. 249—250.

[2] Their names were Mashhadí 'Alí Akbar and Mashhadí Ḥusayn.

But alas, alas for what we see to-day! All these spiritual virtues and humane practices have undergone a complete change. Concord has been replaced by dissension, constancy by cruelty, and affection by enmity. Dissent and mutual avoidance have appeared in this community, and their concatenation hath been dissolved and their assembly dispersed. All this that hath been mentioned hath happened by reason of the love of self and seeking after supremacy emanating from "the Most Mighty Branch" (*al-Ghuṣnu'l-A'ẓam*) 'Abbás Efendi, and his opposition to the last Testament of His Holiness our Great Master Bahá'u'lláh. For he [Bahá'u'lláh] says in Persian (may my life be sacrificed to his utterance!):

Lamentation over present degeneration of Bahá'is.

Denunciation of 'Abbás Efendi ('Abdu 'l-Bahá).

"Every soul from which the scent of existence (*i.e.* love of self) is perceived to-day is the cause of discord."

He hath also informed us in most of His Tablets that His object in making manifest His Dispensation was to cause religious hatred to disappear from the World, and to diffuse love and concord and kindliness amongst the nations. But after His Ascension [*i.e.* His death] events took place and sayings became current which produced great discord and mutual avoidance within the community, by reason of what issued from 'Abbás Efendi, as has been stated, so that antagonism and separation arose between father and son, brother and sister, *husband and wife, and so forth; nay, God be our refuge! even enmity and hatred.

In this connection I will mention certain events and matters which gradually came to pass after the death of His Holiness our Great Master Bahá'u'lláh, some of which I beheld with my own eyes, while others I heard from

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trustworthy witnesses. These I will mention briefly, lest the reader be wearied, so that the Guardians of the Divine House of Justice and all just and fair-minded people may be the better informed and admonished, and may set themselves to amend what hath happened.

Instances of 'Abbás Efendi's alleged ambitious actions.

The first difference which happened after the death of His Holiness our Great Master within this community was that 'Abbás Efendi concealed some part of the book of [Bahá'u'lláh's] Testament entitled "the Book of my Testament," which book was given to him by Bahá'u'lláh in his own holy writing[1].

Part of Bahá'u'lláh's Testament held back by 'Abbás Efendi.

The detail of this is that on the ninth day after the Ascension [*i.e.* the death of Bahá'u'lláh] 'Abbás Efendi chose nine persons from amongst the Companions, one of whom was the author [of this book] and disclosed to them this document, concealing, however, a portion of it with a blue leaf [of paper] without any reason or justification, and gave it to them that they might enjoy the blessing of its perusal. One of them, named Áqá Riẓá of Shíráz, read it at a sign from him down to the place concealed by the blue leaf, whereupon 'Abbás Efendi said to the persons above mentioned, "Verily a portion of this book is concealed for a good reason, because the time doth not admit of its full disclosure." On the afternoon of that day Majdu'd-Dín Efendi read it again, by command of 'Abbás Efendi, in the Holy Place, before a company of the *Aghṣán* (sons of Bahá'u'lláh), *Afnán* (kinsmen of the Báb), *Muhájirín* (Exiles), *Mujáwirín* (settlers in 'Akká) and *Musáfirín* (temporary visitors), down to the afore-mentioned passage, as narrated above.

[1] The Arabic text of this Testament has been published in Russia. See Section III *infra*.

Let it not be hidden from persons of discernment that the injunctions set forth in the above-mentioned book all refer *to this community generally; how then could it be right for 'Abbás Efendi to disclose what he wished and conceal a portion thereof? For there is no doubt that if what was so concealed had not been suitable [for general publication] His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh would not have written it in His august writing.

The duty of sons is to carry out the testamentary instructions of their father, not to reveal a portion and conceal a portion thereof, according to their private ideas and opinions or personal inclinations, for His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh says: "O [Divine] Beauty! Verily I have spent my soul and my spirit for the glorification of the Word and the exalting of the Dispensation of thy Glorious and Beneficent Lord. If we see one of the 'Branches' (*Aghṣán*, that is sons) otherwise than as God willeth, we will rightfully drive him away: verily I am the Mighty, the All-Powerful."

The second difference was that His Holiness our Great Master hath said in numerous places in his Holy Scriptures, plainly and explicitly, that no fresh Manifestation shall take place until a full thousand years shall have passed from this Theophany; and that if anyone advances a claim to any such position before the completion of the above-mentioned period, whosoever he be, and from whatsoever place he be, he is a vain pretender worthy of rejection; as when he says in the "Most Holy Book" (*Kitáb-i-Aqdas*):

No further Manifestation to take place for 1000 years.

"Whosoever layeth claim to a [new] Dispensation before the completion of a full thousand years is a liar and prevaricator... And whosoever construes this verse or interprets it otherwise than as it hath been obviously revealed is

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deprived of the Spirit of God, and of His Mercy which encompasseth all the worlds."

But 'Abbás Efendi, after he had attained to supremacy, clearly and explicitly adopted the position of originality[1], and claimed such lofty stations and high degrees as belong exclusively to Divine Theophanies, and even proclaimed in public in America that he was the Messiah and the Son of God, and in India that he was the promised Bahrám[2]. Thus he says in one of his writings:

'Abbás Efendi's claim.

"The Dispensation in its entirety hath reverted to this visible place[3], *and it is not [permissible] for anyone to stir save after his permission."

And again:

"Whosoever calls on men in my Name, verily he is from me."

[But] His Holiness our Great Master says:

"Whosoever lays claim to any station, rapture, ecstasy or craving otherwise than in this [my] Name, verily he is of [the number of] the most lost, though he speak with all utterance[4], and cause rivers to burst forth from rocks, and control the winds, and cause the clouds to rain."

And 'Abbás Efendi says in Persian:

"Say, 'the Goal and Sum of all are the products of this Pen, and the Proof is that which this tongue utters.'"

[But] His Holiness our Great Master says in Persian:

"What this Oppressed One desireth of all is Justice and Equity. Let them not be satisfied with listening, but let them ponder on what hath been manifested by this servant.

[1] *i.e.* of being the bearer of a new Revelation, and not merely the interpreter and maintainer of that given by Bahá'u'lláh.

[2] The expected Saviour of the Zoroastrians or Parsees.

[3] Meaning himself. * page 59.

[4] Or, "with all the Bayán," *i.e.* all the "utterance" of the Báb.

By the Sun of the *Bayán* arising from the horizon of the heaven of the Kingdom of [God] the All-merciful, had there been found anyone [else] to explain or to speak, we would not have made ourselves the object of men's revilings and calumnies."

And again, in the "Chapter of the Pen" (*Súratu'l-Qalam*):

"Say, 'Into the heart of whomsoever it entereth to rival this Pen[1], or to associate himself therewith, or to approach it, or to know what is revealed by it, let it be surely known that the Devil hath whispered into his soul: thus hath the matter been revealed, if ye would know it.'"

'Abbás Efendi says in Persian:

"This servant is the expositor of the Perspicuous Book, and whatever of God's writings is not confirmed by this servant is not worthy of credence."

His Holiness our Great Master says:

"The Covenant was taken at the time of the Dawn from those who believe that they should not worship [aught] save God, nor work mischief in the earth."

'Abbás Efendi ascribes all the covenants and vows mentioned in the Sacred Books to himself, as his words prove. Thus he says in Persian:

"In short, verily from the beginning of Creation until now there hath not happened or appeared any plain covenant or clear promise like unto this. Yea, there have been promises, but they were not *beneath the shadow of the Tree of Prophecy and the Lote-tree of the Limit, but were only suggested by allegories. But in this great Cycle and luminous Epoch the Object of the Covenant is visible in the horizons and the Centre of the Promise is known amongst the people of the world."

[1] *i.e.* Bahá'u'lláh himself.

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His Holiness our Great Master says in Persian:

"Though one should adduce all the scriptures in the world, yet speak otherwise than as God willeth, he is mentioned in God's Book as of the Fire, and is [so] inscribed by the Supreme Pen."

'Abbás Efendi says in Persian:

"The Dispensation in its entirety reverts to the recognized and acknowledged place, and this Station is distinguished, witnessed and explicitly differentiated, like the Sun in all its phases, from all that is on the earth."

And he has many other utterances of this sort in his treatise, available to all in a text lithographed from a copy made by one of his well-known disciples. Let him, therefore, who desires [further] information peruse this treatise entitled "the Production of the Proof[1]," for therein is what amply sufficeth.

The third difference is that His Holiness our Great Master Bahá'u'lláh in many passages of his writings, as also in the Book of his [last] Testament, commanded this community to do away with discord, to extinguish the fire of sectarian hatred, and to consort with all religions with kindness and friendliness, as he says in Persian[2]:

"By the Sun of Truth arising from the horizon of the heaven of this prison [*i.e.* 'Akká], never did the Beauty of Eternity desire strife and discord, or aught whereby [men's] hearts are troubled! Refer to the Tablets: He saith, 'Consort with [all] religions with spirituality and fragrance.' The object of this Theophany is the extinction *of the fire of

[1] *Ityánu'd-Dalíl li-man yurídu'l-Iqbál ila siwá'i's-Sabíl*, lithographed (in Egypt?) on Ṣafar 1, 1318 (=May 31, 1900). See pp. 188—9 *infra*.

[2] Compare pp. 64—5 *supra*, where the same passage is cited.

* page 61.

hatred kindled in the hearts of the creeds, and the abatement thereof by the Kawthar[1] of the utterance of Divine Counsel and Celestial Admonition. In this very year, A.H. 1306 [= 1888–9], a Tablet was revealed in the writing of this Oppressed one wherein this Sublime Word shone forth from the horizon of the Supreme Pen: 'O people, speak well of [God's] servants, and speak not of them evil, or that whereby their souls may be troubled.' The mention of evil hath also been forbidden in this Law, because the tongue is for the commemoration of the Truth, and it is pitiful that it should be defiled by backbiting or uttering words which cause sadness and grief to [God's] servants."

He says also in Persian in "the Book of my Will":

"The object of this Oppressed One in bearing hardships and afflictions is the revealing of Verses and the showing forth of Proofs, so that the fire of malice and hatred may be quenched; then perhaps the horizons of men's hearts may be illuminated with the light of concord and may attain to true Peace."

And again in the same Book:

"O people of the world! God's religion exists for Love and Concord: do not make it a means to enmity and discord!"

Enmity and dissension fostered by 'Abbás Efendi.

But 'Abbás Efendi hath nullified this most great gift and most high and glorious aim, since he, for his private ends and personal aims, hath instituted hatred and discord amongst the people of Bahá, in such wise that he hath introduced division and separation between brother and sister, fathers and sons, husband and wife, friend and old comrade; and whosoever does not agree with him in his ideas and statements, and does not speak evil concerning his brother Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi "the Most Great Branch"

[1] The name of a fountain or river in Paradise.

(*al-Ghuṣnu'l-Akbar*) and the Holy Family is accounted a "violator" (*Náqiz*) of the Covenant and a "vacillator" (*Mutazalzil*), nay, an infidel, wherefore they avoid him and hold it unlawful to speak, or converse, or have any dealings with him.* Let it not be hidden from the intelligent that the causes of discord are numerous, but the author has not touched on them fully from a desire for brevity. The sum of the matter is that this schism took place on account of what hath been mentioned, and for [other reasons] which have not been mentioned, so that this cleavage resulted, and this community became two communities. On the one hand are the followers of 'Abbás Efendi, who constitute the majority. Most of these believe him to be possessed of the Supreme Immaculacy and to be the Mirror of "He doeth what He will," as is witnessed by their published treatises in handwritings well-known [to all]. They ascribe to him the high degrees and lofty stations peculiar to the Divine Manifestations, and name themselves "the steadfast" (*ath-Thábitún*).

Schism after Bahá'u'lláh's death.

On the other hand are the minority, who find 'Abbás Efendi and his claim, his sayings, and his ideas at variance with the commands of His Holiness our great Master; who regard Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi as submissive to God and obedient to the commands of His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh; and who conceive of him as of a finger who points to his Master, so that they agree and unite with him, and are called "Unitarians" (*ahlu't-Tawḥíd*).

Muḥammad 'Alí and his followers.

When it became certain that a schism had taken place, Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi and those who were with him, in conformity with the commands of His Holiness our Great Master, where he says in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*:

* page 62.

"If ye differ in any matter, refer it to God, so long as the Sun continues to shine from the horizon of this heaven[1]; and when it hath set, then refer to what hath been revealed by Him: verily that sufficeth the worlds"; and in another place in Persian:

"O divers peoples, turn towards unity, and become illuminated with the Light of Concord: meet in some place in godly fashion, and put away from amongst you whatever is the cause of difference*;

Muḥammad 'Alí's followers demand a conference.

[— in accordance with these precepts, I say] they repeatedly communicated with 'Abbás Efendi asking him to appoint a sitting in godly fashion and to choose a few representatives from both sides to discuss the matter with the utmost loving-kindness as regards the disagreement and its causes; to make the efforts necessary to remove it; to weigh words and thoughts in the balance of God's Scripture; and to distinguish the Truth from all else by the criterion of His [Bahá'u'lláh's] words. Moreover they besought the acceptance of this proposal with the extreme of supplication and sincerity, and repeated their request many times, but obtained no answer from him [*i.e.* 'Abbás Efendi], nor would he in any wise consent to this, perceiving that reference to the verses explanatory [of this question] would be contrary to his private ideas and personal advantage, and knowing that the truth would be revealed by reference to them, and that all men would recognize the vanity of the ideas and expressions current in the assemblies of 'Abbás Efendi and his followers and contained in their writings. So hatred and aversion increased between the two parties, and matters reached a pitch which one dislikes to describe in detail, and they uttered with regard to Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi and

[1] *i.e.* "So long as Bahá'u'lláh is alive." * page 63.

the Family of the House of Greatness[1] statements and allegations at which reasonable people were horrified, paying no heed to the injunctions of His Holiness our Great Master where he enjoins in His honourable writings respect for the "Branches" (*Aghṣán*[2]), wives and family, even as he says in the Book of His Testament, "Respect and heed for the 'Branches' (*Aghṣán, i.e.* sons) is incumbent upon all for the glorifying of the Dispensation and the uplifting of the Word."

'Abbás Efendi favours those who most exaggerate his position.

The fourth difference was that the more the followers of 'Abbás Efendi increased in exaggeration of his praise, and described him by names and attributes proper only to the Divine Majesty, the more he magnified his gifts to them and the more graciously he treated them. So they exaggerated the more, *and carried matters to the point of polytheism[3], exceeding all limits in respect to him. Thus they took certain verses of the *Súratu'l-Amr* and made them a separate Tablet, which, they asserted, was 'Abbás Efendi's, so that they might establish for him a glory proper only to Divine Theophanies. And 'Abbás Efendi himself made alterations in one of the Servant's[4] letters to Muḥammad Muṣṭafá of Baghdád in Beyrout, that is to say added to it and diminished from it, saying that it was a Tablet which the Lord had revealed to him. Moreover he claimed that the Holy Tablet specially addressed to his brother Muḥammad 'Ali Efendi was shared by himself. Again the Servant[4], during

[1] *i.e.* other members of Bahá'u'lláh's family who rejected the claim of 'Abbás Efendi.

[2] *i.e.* as already explained, the sons of Bahá'u'lláh.

* page 64.

[3] *Shirk, i.e.* associating partners with God.

[4] *i.e.* Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán, the special attendant and amanuensis of Bahá'u'lláh, commonly called *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh.*

the days when His Holiness our Great Master sojourned at Adrianople, had written a tract wherein he made mention of the Mischief of the days of the Manifestation. This tract 'Abbás Efendi named "the Tablet of the Mischief," saying that it was a Holy Tablet revealed from the Supreme Pen, and ordered it to be read in the assemblies, his object therein being to cast doubts into men's hearts, so that they might imagine that the utmost importance belonged to his days. Again our Great Master, before he made known his Mission, warned us of the advent of "the grievous days," meaning thereby the days of His Manifestation. But after the Manifestation He declared in one of the Holy Tablets that they had come to an end. But 'Abbás Efendi said in answer to a question concerning "the grievous days" that they were the year of the Ascension[1], in order to establish the importance of his own days, as hath been mentioned. And notwithstanding all that we have mentioned, he asserted that his brother Muḥammad 'Ali Efendi had tampered with the published Divine Verses, I mean the [edition of the] *Kitabu'l-Haykal* lithographed in the days of His Holiness our Great Master, whereof many copies exist in the writing of Zayn [u'l-Muqarrabín][2] (who is well known amongst this community and who collated this lithographed edition), and said that the verses which were not confirmed by him were not to be relied on, intending thereby to prevent his followers from referring to these Divine Verses, lest they should become aware of his ['Abbás Efendi's] opposition to the Holy Writings* in word, deed, declaration and writing.

In the fourth year after [the death of] His Holiness our

[1] *i.e.* of the death of Bahá'u'lláh.

[2] See my translation of the *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 412—418.

* page 65.

Great Master[1], the partisans of 'Abbás Efendi held a meeting in his audience-chamber at his suggestion, took counsel with one another, and agreed that what was given of the necessaries of life to the Holy Family and to his brothers was on no account permissible; wherefore Abbás Efendi cut it off completely, so that he compelled them to borrow for household expenses, because they were deprived of means. This was a wrongful act on his part, because what [revenue] reached him from the different countries was not his private property, but belonged to the entire Holy Family, as will not be hidden from the discerning. Yet he cut it off from them, and spent it on whom he would of the officials and men of influence, in order to effect his personal aims, not acting conformably to truth, justice and equity.

'Abbás Efendi deprives his brothers of their allowances.

In the sixth year after [the death of] His Holiness our Great Master[2] a grievous sickness overcame Ẓiyá'u'lláh Efendi, by reason of the vehement emotion caused in him by the existing events and differences. After some days he went for change of air to Ḥayfá, where the malady increased in gravity. And during the days of his illness neither 'Abbás Efendi nor any of his family or followers came to visit his sick brother or to enquire after him; until the signs of dissolution appeared, on the afternoon of the 14th of Jumádá II, A.H. 1316 (October 30, 1898), when 'Abbás Efendi came, stayed a few minutes, and then returned to his lodging. Next morning he came, accompanied the corpse to the gate of the town ['Akká], and after a short while went to the Palace (of Bahja) tarried a while there, and returned to 'Akká, but was not present at the funeral, nor anyone of his family and followers.

Death of Ẓiyá'u'llah, Oct. 30, 1898.

[1] *i.e.* about 1896.

[2] *i.e.* about 1898.

They did not even close their shops and offices on that *day, as is customary, but on the contrary manifested joy and gladness and quaffed the drinks commonly used on festivals. This behaviour [on their part] astonished all, whether present or absent, kinsmen or strangers.

Attempt to abduct the widow of Ẓiyá'u'lláh.

Ẓiyá'u'lláh Efendi had a wife whose parents and brothers were followers of 'Abbás Efendi, who summoned them to his presence, desiring by their means to draw her to himself. But since after her husband's death she chose faithfulness [to his memory] and the service of Her Holiness his mother, with whom she dwelt in the Palace of Bahja, 'Abbás Efendi sent her parents and her brother to the Holy Place. They sent a certain woman of the partisans of 'Abbás Efendi to her mother-in-law, demanding an interview with the girl, that is, the wife of Ẓiyá'u'lláh Efendi, in the Holy Place; which request being granted, she came in company with the above-mentioned woman to the Holy Place and met her parents and her brother, who held her in conversation with enquiries as to her condition and declarations of affection, walking meanwhile towards the gate, on emerging from which her parents and brother seized her by force, and carried her off, holding her hands and feet to drag her to the place where a carriage was in readiness to carry her away. 'Abbás Efendi's wife was present in person to superintend the arrangements above mentioned, while some of her relations and followers were helping the parents in her abduction, she being bare-headed and bare-footed, crying out and asking for help, and saying "O Bahá, help me! They have taken me by force!" This event happened at a time when Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi and Badí'u'lláh Efendi were absent, and no one was present

* page 66.

except the Servant of the Presence[1], and a few of the Unitarians[2]. The author of this history and some others of the Companions were proceeding towards the Holy Place to visit it, *and we happened to be there when they brought her out crying for help. We and the Servant[1] hastened to the spot and delivered her out of their hands. But 'Abbás Efendi, when he perceived that he was foiled in his scheme and saw that it had not succeeded, ordered some of his followers to write a pamphlet in which the matter was entirely misrepresented, and sent it with the signature of the ill-used lady's father (I mean the widow of Ziyá'u'lláh Efendi) to Egypt to Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, who printed and published it in the lands by his command.

In the fifth year [after Bahá'u'lláh's death], on the 26th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 1314 (May 28th, 1897)[3], the Servant of God invited all the Companions to the neighbourhood of the Holy Place in Bahja, where, after they had partaken of food and drunk tea, he stood up about the time of the afternoon [prayer] and addressed the people, saying:

Protest of Mírzá Áqá Ján (*Janáb-i-Khádimu 'lláh*), May 28, 1897.

"This servant hath been silent all this time and hath not uttered a word, for fear of giving rise to dissension. Now, however, I perceive that my silence causeth increase of discord in God's Religion; therefore I say unto you that the deeds and words which have issued from 'Abbás Efendi and his company are all contrary to God's commands, and at variance with His injunctions revealed in the Holy Scriptures. The Covenant and Promise mentioned aforetime in

[1] *i.e.* Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán, called *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh*.

[2] This was the name adopted by the followers of Muḥammad 'Alí. See p. 81 *supra*. * page 67.

[3] This was the fifth anniversary of Bahá'u'lláh's death,

the Immaculate Writings refer exclusively to previous and subsequent Theophanies, but 'Abbás Efendi hath appropriated them to himself, and ye have so accepted them, wherein ye have greatly erred."

Ill-treatment of *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh.*

One of 'Abbás Efendi's followers[1] informed him of the Servant's words, whereupon he at once appeared on the scene, seized him by the hand and expelled him from the house bare-headed and bare-footed, while his followers beat him on the head and face, he crying out meanwhile in a loud voice, addressing them, "Verily ye *are now in the neighbourhood of the Holy Place, while I am speaking to you with discriminating signs (verses), that thereby the true may be distinguished from the false and the polytheist from the Unitarian." Yet not one of them listened to him, but they continued to beat him and to drag him to the Holy Place, where 'Abbás Efendi struck him with his hand a painful blow. From the Holy Place they took him by command of 'Abbás Efendi and imprisoned him in a stable, after they had taken from him such writings and letters as he had on him. After that they denounced him as reprobate, apostate, croaker, hypocrite and devil, notwithstanding the recommendations of His Holiness our Great Master concerning him and His command to them in the Book of the [last] Testament, and in other Tablets also, to honour the Servant; even as He says in a Tablet in His own holy writing "And after the 'Branches' (*Aghṣán, i.e.* the sons of Bahá'u'lláh) show honour to the Servant who stands before the Throne in a laudable station[2]."

[1] Sayyid Hádí was the informer.

* page 68.

[2] The events here narrated form the subject of a separate tract of 16 pages, lithographed, entitled *Wáqi'a-i-há'ila-i-Khádim-i-Abhá dar*

In short, after this event the Servant attached himself to the Place of our Great Master, and used to spend his time with Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi and the Holy Family in commemorating the Lord (glorious in His State) and in the service of the Catholic Word, as is proved by his writings in his own well-known hand. And after a time he went one morning to the house of 'Abbás Efendi at 'Akká to discuss and confer about the actual conditions and existing differences; but they shut the door in his face and prevented him from entering, and he sat before them on the ground for the space of two hours, begging 'Abbás Efendi and his partisans to produce the holy verses and Tablets in their possession, so that he might discuss with them and they with him according to their purport, in order that it might appear what actions and words were conformable or contrary to them, and which thereof were acceptable in God's sight and which displeasing. But none would give ear; and finally 'Abbás Efendi sent his son-in-law named Mírzá Muḥsin to the Government to say to the [Turkish] officials that the Servant had come to make mischief. Thereupon an officer came and took *the Servant to the Government House, where they detained him for a while, after which they drove him out from the Palace. So he continued worshipping and commemorating God and elucidating the Supreme Unity until he fell sick. His sickness lasted fifteen days, and on the 29th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1319 (May 17th, 1901) he responded to the call of his Master in the Palace of Bahja, and was buried with the utmost reverence at Abí 'Ataba, Muḥammad

Death of *Janáb-i-Khádimu 'lláh*, May 17, 1901.

Rawza-i-Mubáraka-i-'Ulyá ("The Dreadful Calamity of the Servant of Bahá in the Blessed and Supreme Garden"). The persecutors were twelve in number, of whom eight are named.

* page 69.

'Alí Efendi and the Unitarians seeing to what was necessary for him in the way of washing, shrouding and burial.

The Servant during his days [of life] had repeatedly expressed his wish to the Friends that all of the Holy Writings which belonged to him should return to God, and that after his death they should all be deposited in the Holy Place. So after his death Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, Badí'u'lláh Efendi, and some of the Unitarians, including the author, went one day to a house in the neighbourhood of the Holy Place and examined the Sacred Mementos which the Servant had left. These included twelve Holy portraits, two hundred and seventeen Holy Tablets produced by the Supreme Pen, and a number of the Holy head-dresses[1], garments and hairs, besides many Sacred Books and a mass of correspondence, bound and unbound, and private possessions, and a number of tracts composed by the Servant concerning the Divine Unity and the Supreme Immaculateness. All these they wrote down [in a list], and placed in three boxes, which they sealed with two seals and deposited as a trust in the house of Sayyid 'Alí Efendi, the son-in-law of His Holiness our Great Master, because he was a Russian subject[2], so that they might be protected from interference at the hands of tyrants. Recently, however, it appears that 'Abbás Efendi in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 1326 (March, 1908) obtained the consent of the Blessed Leaf and the Holy Spouse, and of Sayyid 'Alí Efendi *Afnán*[3], and sent *his

Janáb-i-Khádimu 'lláh's books and papers appropriated by 'Abbás Efendi, March, 1908.

[1] *Tíján*, literally "Crowns," *i.e.* the tall felt caps which Bahá'u'lláh used to wear.

[2] And therefore not liable to be molested by the Persian or Turkish Government.

[3] So called because he was related to the Báb, whose kinsmen are called *Afnán* ("Branches").

* page 70.

son-in-law Mírzá Muḥsin and Áqá Riḍá of Shíráz by night in his private carriage to Bahja to bring him the three boxes deposited in trust as above mentioned without the knowledge of anyone. And there is no doubt that the carrying out of this transaction secretly by night is a clear proof that it was contrary alike to the Holy Law and its ordinances, and to the Common Law and its provisions, for it was effected by theft and larceny. For Muḥammad 'Alí and those who were with him had left the boxes there under seal as a trust, for the carrying out of the Servant's last testament and in order to give effect to it. How then could it be right for 'Abbás Efendi to appropriate them in the fashion above mentioned, or that this treachery should be committed by him?

Increased stringency of control by Turkish officials.

After 'Abbás Efendi had attained to supremacy, he made a great display, by reason of the moral and material prestige which he now possessed. So likewise his followers did not observe prudence, wisdom or moderation in affairs, whence arose many troubles and difficulties, so that orders were issued by the Ottoman Government to confine him and his brothers in the fortress of 'Akká. After a while there appeared four inspectors to investigate and enquire into the circumstances of certain of the officials and exiles, and they examined his ['Abbás Efendi's] affairs also. After a while Khalíl Pasha the Governor of Beyrout appointed an inspector to watch him and ascertain who associated with him of the people of the country and others; and when he chanced on such an one, he used to bring him to the Government House, where he was examined to ascertain the cause of his frequenting the society of 'Abbás Efendi. He, however, ascribed all that had happened to his brother Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, spreading this report abroad in the country,

and thereby filling the hearts of his followers with hatred, enmity and aversion, so that they used to display the extreme of dislike and detestation in regard to Muḥammad ʻAlí Efendi and the Holy Family, and used to speak unseemly words concerning them. But when Muḥammad ʻAlí Efendi discovered that his brother ascribed these occurrences to him, he communicated with him repeatedly by means of some of the officials and inhabitants of the city and some of his followers, *and begged him to agree to appoint a time and men to enquire into the truth of these matters, investigate these events, and ascertain their reasons and causes. This happened during the presence of the inspectors, and he requested him to appoint two persons on his behalf that they might go together to the local government and to the Board of Inspectors and formally demand [the production of] a note of complaint, if such were in their possession, on the part of Muḥammad ʻAlí against his brother ʻAbbás Efendi, or an assertion that they were cognizant of some direct complaint on his part. For all official papers and legal complaints are preserved in the originals as well as in copies by the Government in its records. But ʻAbbás Efendi would not accept this or agree to it, because he sought by these falsehoods and slanders to give effect to his plans, and if he had appointed such persons and they had gone to the above-mentioned official quarters and made investigations, it would have become plain to all that these accusations were false, and these reports devoid of truth and reality. For it is not hidden that the False loves the darkness and hates the light, lest its evil circumstances and deeds should become apparent. In short this schism and its results were manifold, but space does not allow more [to be said] than what I have mentioned, so I have contented

* page 71.

myself with this summary, having already set forth most of [the facts connected with] it in another treatise.

The Conquest of America for the Bahá'í religion by means of Dr Ibráhím George Khayru'lláh, literally transcribed from what the above-mentioned Khayru'lláh wrote, putting himself in the position of a third person[1].

Biographical sketch of Ibráhím George Khayru'lláh. Born Nov. 11, 1849.

Ibráhím George Khayru'lláh was born on November 11, 1849 (26th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 1265) in the village of Muḥammadún[2], one of the villages of Mount Lebanon in Syria.

His father died while he was still a child at the breast[3], and his mother undertook his education, placing him first in the primary schools, and then sending him to the College of al-Bustání in Beyrout, and thence to the American University College, where, in 1870 *(A.H. 1287), he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Science[4]. He was one of the five [students] who were the first-fruits of this celebrated college.

Educated at Beyrout.

In A.D. 1872 (A.H. 1289) he left Syria and took up his abode in Egypt for a period of about 21 years. There he foregathered with the late Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím Efendi of Ṭihrán, one of the followers of His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh (glorious is His mention!), who gave him good tidings

Goes to Egypt in 1872, and becomes acquainted with Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ṭihrán.

[1] Since this translation was made, Dr Khayru'lláh has published the substance of the information given below in a book entitled *O Christians! why do ye believe not in Christ?* pp. 165—192. This book was published in 1917 in the U.S.A., probably at Chicago, though no place is specified on the title-page. I cite this as the "English Autobiography."

[2] "Behamdon" in the English version mentioned in the last footnote.

[3] "When I was two years old."

* page 72.

[4] "B.A."

of this Most Great Manifestation. At first he did not believe these tidings, and began to study the Divine Scriptures[1] with the object of demonstrating therefrom the falsity of this claim, and he remained an unbeliever for a number of years, until God opened his eyes and he saw the Truth as it is. Then he forwarded a letter of contrition and belief to His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh (glorious is His praise!), and there was revealed for him a Holy Tablet from the Heaven of Virtue gladdening him with the announcement that his cry had been heard and his request answered, and that he had been commemorated with a mention whereby [all men's] hearts would be attracted. This happened in A.D. 1890 (A.H. 1308), and the text of the above-mentioned Tablet is inserted for a blessing at the end of his book entitled *Bahá'u'lláh*[2] which he composed in the English language to prove the truth of this most great and wonderful Theophany.

Conversion to Bahá'í faith in 1890.

On the 19th of June, 1892 (24th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1309), about three weeks after the Ascension[3] of His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh, the above-mentioned Ibráhím Khayru'lláh journeyed from Cairo to St Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire, to finish some business which he had there. His intention was to return to Egypt after three months, but, being unable to finish his business there, he went to Berlin, thence to Le Havre in France, and thence to America on a German ship named "Swabia." He reached New York in December, 1892 (Jumádá II, A.H. 1310), three or four days before Christmas.

Goes to St Petersburg in June, 1892.

Arrives in New York, Dec. 1892.

[1] *i.e.* the writings of the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh.

[2] Vol. ii, pp. 544—5. See also p. 166 of the English Autobiography.

[3] *i.e.* death.

*In July, 1893 (Muḥarram, A.H. 1311), he left New York and went to Michigan to earn his livelihood, and wherever he went he used to sow the seed of this wonderful Theophany, so far as was possible having regard to his weakness at that time in the English language; until he reached Chicago in February, 1894 (Shawwál, A.H. 1312), which he adopted as his dwelling-place and the centre of his activities. Then he began to preach the Advent of the Kingdom, and after he had spent about two years in missionary work and had found receptive ears, he wrote to the late 'Abdu'l-Karím Efendi of Ṭihrán informing him of how he had devoted himself to preaching the good tidings in America, and of the success which he had met with there. At the same time he also wrote by the hand of the above-mentioned 'Abdu'l-Karím a letter to His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi "the Most Mighty Branch" (*al-Ghuṣnu'l-A'ẓam*).

Beginning of the American propaganda, July, 1893.

At this time also he desired his Greek wife to leave Egypt and come to America to help him there, but she refused to come. So he divorced her, and, in A.D. 1895 (A.H. 1312) married an English lady[1], and they went together to England and France, returning thence after two months to his home in Chicago, where he applied himself day and night, without wearying, to teaching the people. In this year, after his return from Europe, an opening was vouchsafed to him in the city of Kenosha in the State of Wisconsin, which place is distant about fifty miles from Chicago. Thither he used to go and preach to the people one day in every week.

Marries an English wife, 1895.

* page 73.

[1] Miss Marian Miller. See p. 167 of the English Autobiography.

In A.D. 1896 (A.H. 1314) the feet of seekers [after Truth] crowded on one another in Chicago and Kenosha, *and the believers were counted by hundreds. At this period he composed a book which he named *Bábu'd-Dín* ("the Gate of Religion"), and in A.D. 1897 (A.H. 1315) he went to Kansas State, to the city of Enterprise, where he spent eight weeks during the summer season in search of rest; but, finding there a number of people seeking spiritual knowledge, he preached the message to them, and there were converted of them at that time twenty-one persons.

Publishes a book entitled *Bábu'd-Dín*, 1896.

Towards the end of that year (A.D. 1897) Mr [Arthur] Dodge and Mrs [Lida H.] Talbot, who had left Chicago and settled at New York, invited him to proceed thither and evangelize the above-mentioned city. At that time also one of the believing women[1], who had gone from Chicago to visit her family in New York State, invited him to come to her help in the city of Ithaca, where by his permission she was teaching certain people. Therefore, on his way to New York, he passed by Ithaca and spent some days there in missionary work, until some of them believed. Then he left them and went to New York, where he and his wife lodged in the very same house in which Mr Dodge was living. Before leaving Chicago he appointed there and at Kenosha male and female missionaries to impart to students the same teachings which they had received from him. Thus was the mission extended, while the number of enquirers increased daily.

Propaganda in New York and Ithaca (1897).

* p. 74.

[1] Apparently Mrs Getsinger. See p. 169 of the English Autobiography.

Finding that the number of enquirers in New York exceeded two hundred, he divided them into three classes. He used to instruct the first class in the house where he lived with Mr Dodge, the second class in the house *of the celebrated Dr Gurnsey, one of the notables of New York, and the third class in the hall known as "Nineteenth Century Hall."

Classes for instruction in Bahá'í doctrine organized.

At the end of four months one hundred and forty-one of the enquirers believed, and he formed them into a congregation and set over them as evangelist (*muballigh*) Mr Howard MacNutt. And during the period of his sojourn in New York he used to visit the city of Philadelphia to help one of the women evangelists[1] whom he had sent there. And in that city eighteen[2] souls believed. Thus did God open [to the Faith] New York and Philadelphia in a short time.

In the beginning of June, 1898 (Muḥarram, A.H. 1316), he visited Chicago and Kenosha to investigate the condition of the believers there. Then he returned to New York, whence he went with his wife and one of the believing women, Mrs Anna Bell, to the city of Lubeck in the State of Maine. There he spent nine weeks, engaged from six to nine hours daily in dictating orally to Mrs Bell, while she wrote down what he dictated with the type-writer, until he had nearly completed the composition of his book entitled *Bahá'u'lláh*. At this juncture there reached him a telegram from California informing him that Mrs Phoebe Hearst wanted him and his wife to meet her at New York to go with her as her guests to 'Akká to visit the tomb of His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh (to whom be glory!), and to meet the

* page 75.

[1] Mrs Sara G. Herron. *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

[2] "About twenty-five souls." *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

members of the Holy Family. He accepted this invitation, returned to New York, and prepared for the journey.

Disinterested character of Khayru'lláh's work.

Khayru'lláh carried on his missionary and evangelizing efforts amongst the people in America for love of God without any remuneration at all, so that *he used even to refuse the presents which were offered to him. This rule he made binding on himself and on all the evangelists, male and female, whom he appointed to teach. He used to earn his livelihood by his lawful profession, which was the healing of the sick, and oftentimes he expended his own private property [in such ways] as the hire of premises for assemblies of the believers and evangelizing work.

Khayru'lláh sails for Europe and Syria, June 1898.

Towards the end of June, 1898[1] (Muḥarram, A.H. 1316) Ibráhím Khayru'lláh sailed in the steamer "Fürst Bismarck" in company with Mrs Phoebe Hearst. He stayed some days in Paris, where he completed the conversion of the above-mentioned lady by giving her and some of her attendants the Most Great Name. He also explicitly instructed such of the believers as dwelt in England and France and had received the Most Great Name to preach the Advent of the Father and His Kingdom upon earth. In this way was inaugurated this Most Great Evangel amongst the Christians of Europe.

Khayru'lláh and a party of Americans visit 'Akká.

After this he travelled alone from Paris making for 'Akká. He disembarked at Alexandria in Egypt to visit his two daughters, who were living there at that time with their grandmother, stayed with them three weeks, preached the Doctrine to them and converted them. Thence

* page 76.

1 "In July, 1898." *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

they followed him to 'Akká to perform a visitation. So likewise Mrs Hearst and those who accompanied her arrived in successive parties, one after another, at 'Akká, the total number of American visitors[1] together with his own family amounting to sixteen persons.

Ibráhím Khayru'lláh's stay in 'Akká and Ḥayfá somewhat exceeded six months, in the course of which important events happened, some of which it is necessary to mention for the making plain of the truth.

Reception of Khayru'lláh by 'Abbás Efendi.

About twenty-four hours after he had disembarked, he set off from Ḥayfá in a carriage with *Ḥusayn the Persian, of the village of Khámna, a dependency of Ṭabríz, who had been appointed by 'Abbás Efendi to meet the pilgrims, and the two went together to 'Akká, and alighted at the house where dwelt His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi. There, in the reception-room on the upper floor, 'Abbás Efendi entered and greeted Khayru'lláh, saying, "Welcome to the friend!" Then he clasped him to his breast and kissed him, saying, "Welcome to thee, O Bahá's Peter, O second Columbus, Conqueror of America!" Then he sat down talking to him kindly and affectionately, and asking him about the pilgrims who were coming from America, and about the believers there. Then he asked him to stay with him in the house, and he agreed thereto and stayed there. And on the next day a military officer came and put a fez on Khayru'lláh's head instead of a hat, saying to him, "Verily 'Abbás Efendi has ordered this fez for Bahá's Peter, Columbus the Second, the Conqueror of America." After this the believers there began to send congratulations on this distinction, calling

[1] "Of visitors who were originally Christians." *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

* page 77.

him at one time Columbus the Second, Conqueror of America, and at another Bahá's Peter.

When 'Abbás Efendi brought Khayru'lláh into the room wherein was deposited the body of His Holiness our Master Bahá'u'lláh, he told him that he was the first pilgrim to whom the door of this chamber had been opened for entrance thereunto and to perform the ceremonies prescribed for the visitation. And thereafter he began to open it for the entrance of other pilgrims.

Khayru'lláh helps to lay the foundation-stone of the Báb's mausoleum.

Another of the distinctions which he enjoyed was that one day 'Abbás Efendi came to Ḥayfá and alighted at the house in which Khayru'lláh was lodging with his family, and invited him to accompany him to Mount Carmel to participate with him in laying the foundation-stone of the mausoleum which was to be erected to receive the body of the "First Point" His Holiness the Báb, this honour being assigned to him instead of to 'Abbás Efendi's brother "the Most Great Branch" Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi. *So they went together, and there on Mount Carmel 'Abbás Efendi took a pick-axe and gave Khayru'lláh another pick-axe, which one of the attendants had brought for this purpose, and, after asking help from God, they both began to dig the foundations, while the servant who was present removed the excavated earth. Thus the work continued for a few minutes, when 'Abbás Efendi laid aside his pick-axe and ordered Khayru'lláh to do likewise. Then he said to him, "This is an honour which none of the believers except thee has enjoyed." And he kept praising his action and his instruction of the Americans before the assembly of the believers; and often did he make mention thereof in his writings. He also entitled him "the Shepherd of God's

* page 78.

flocks in America," and presented him with the works of His Holiness Bahá (to whom be glory!). As for 'Abbás Efendi's followers, they treated Khayru'lláh with all kindness and affection.

It is worth mentioning here that Her Holiness Bahiyya Khánim "the Blessed Leaf," the sister of 'Abbás Efendi, gave Khayru'lláh her book, which was written in a beautiful hand and contained a number of Holy Tablets revealed by the Supreme Pen; and told him that it was a present from her to Bahá's Peter, the Conqueror of America, who had wrought for the extension of the Faith what no other of the missionaries had achieved. And he thanked her, and put it by with other precious writings.

Notwithstanding that Khayru'lláh had repeatedly begged His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi before he went to visit him to send him a volume of the Holy Verses which had been revealed by the Supreme Pen so that he might compare them with his teachings, in order to guard against the incidence of error, and His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi had promised him this, yet he sent him nothing of what he had demanded. So Khayru'lláh determined when he went to 'Akká to attain this supreme aim, to wit the acquisition of knowledge at first hand; and, whenever he foregathered with 'Abbás Efendi he used * to explain to him the teachings which he gave to the Americans, even translating lengthy sections thereof, and asking His Holiness to correct what was erroneous. But His Holiness confirmed them and praised them publicly before all the believers, both Easterns and Americans. He repeatedly declared explicitly to the American pilgrims that all which Khayru'lláh had taught was correct; but whenever he had explained to the

* page 79.

Americans any matter, and afterwards understood that his explanation was not in accordance with that given by Khayru'lláh, he used to avoid disagreement by saying that everything had two meanings, one spiritual and the other material, and that the explanations given to them by himself and by Khayru'lláh were both correct.

Discrepancies in doctrine.

Now since His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi used to postpone the explanation of the questions which Khayru'lláh put to him, excusing himself on the ground of the multiplicity of his affairs, Khayru'lláh took to propounding them to the missionaries (*muballighín*) who were there at that time, such as Ibnu'l-Abhar[1] and his followers, and there appeared between them the most complete difference of opinion on numerous important matters, such as the immortality of the human spirit, and the question of the "return" (*rij'at*) or coming back [to the life of the world], etc. So 'Abbás Efendi appointed a special time for the hearing of the two parties and the pronouncing of judgement.

Discussion on the Nature of God's Essence.

After long discussions His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi said to Khayru'lláh, "Verily the argument which you have advanced is plausible, but your assertion that God's Essence is limited by His Essence is a sheer error." So Khayru'lláh begged that he might hear the proof to establish this, saying, "Since everything which is known is limited, and since God knows all things, and since He is necessarily known to His Essence by His Essence, therefore it is possible to say, without incurring the charge of error, that God's Essence is limited by His Essence, since He is known to Himself."

[1] Probably identical with the "Ibn Abhar" mentioned at p. 426 of my *Persian Revolution*.

But 'Abbás Efendi answered saying, "It is necessary that no difference [of opinion] should arise between thee and the learned men of Persia, and therefore it is necessary that *thou shouldst say that God is unlimited, and that He is exempt from [the attributes of] His creatures." To this Khayru'lláh answered saying, "O Sir, is not the statement that God is exempt from [the attributes of] His creatures in itself also a kind of limitation?" Then 'Abbás Efendi's countenance changed, and he regarded Khayru'lláh with a frown: then he smiled, and rose up saying, "We will return to this discussion some other time, if God please." Thus did he close the first and last conference on these matters.

Disinclination of Bahá'ís to argue with Khayru'lláh.

After this conference there came about an evident change in the treatment of Khayru'lláh by the missionaries (*mubalighín*) and their followers, and by some of the American pilgrims, and amongst them his wife, who was with him on this visit. When he asked one of the missionaries about any religious question, the answer would be that His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi alone was able to explain these questions, and that Khayru'lláh must ask him. But when an opportunity occurred and he asked 'Abbás Efendi about it, His Holiness would postpone his reply until some other occasion.

Bahá'í Scriptures withheld from Khayru'lláh.

Then Khayru'lláh requested 'Abbás Efendi to obtain [for him] the books which had been printed in India by command of His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh (to whom be glory) and in his days; but he did not grant this request, saying, "These books are not to be found in 'Akká." But Khayru'lláh obtained them in Egypt whilst he was returning to America.

* page 80.

Growing estrangement between Khayru'lláh and 'Abbás Efendi.

Then there occurred numerous unpleasant events during the visit, which, if they did not shake the faith of Khayru'lláh and his two daughters in the truth of this Most Great Theophany, did none the less trouble the cup of their joy, and caused them to wonder at the arbitrary conduct of 'Abbás Efendi.

Only after their return to America did God open their eyes so that they saw the Truth as it is. Then indeed they began to call to mind these events, and to wonder how they failed to understand them at the time, and to realize the truth that *the apprehension of facts and the understanding of them only come by degrees and with time. And in order to make known the Truth Khayru'lláh mentioned some of these occurrences, as will be seen, but drew a veil over many of them from motives of courtesy.

Precautions taken by 'Abbás Efendi to prevent strangers from meeting his brother.

One feature of the policy of 'Abbás Efendi was to attach to every pilgrim who came to 'Akká men of his own faction, to consort with that stranger-pilgrim with the utmost kindness and tenderness, wait upon him, remain with him night and day, and accompany him wherever he went. Thus passed the days of his visit without the pilgrim being able to meet one of the Holy Family or their followers, so that he would return without being informed of the truth of the matter, or of the causes of the dissension which had arisen between 'Abbás Efendi and Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi.

But if any one [of the pilgrims] was so bold as to ask His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi to permit him to meet his brother Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi or his followers, he would

* page 81.

grant such permission to the seeker, with a smiling and cheerful countenance, to go to meet his brother Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, expressing an eager desire to be reconciled with his brother; but at the same time he would hint to the enquirer that there was absolutely nothing to be gained by this action of his. Then he would enjoin his partisans and attendants to make it clear to that pilgrim that it would be a great mistake for him to foregather with Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, or any of his followers, or to speak with them, and that it was one of the things which would distress the sensibilities of 'Abbás Efendi. So the pilgrim would refuse to meet anyone of the rival faction, even as happened to Khayru'lláh himself, when he refused to meet His Holiness the Branch (*Ghuṣn*) Badí'u'lláh Efendi when the latter came to call upon him at the inn where he was staying in the city of Ḥayfá. For he refused to meet the above-mentioned Badí'u'lláh Efendi, in consequence of *what had been suggested to him by His Holiness 'Abbás Efendi and his followers.

In consequence of what has just been set forth, none of all the American pilgrims went to interview His Holiness Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, or Her Holiness the Mother of the "Branches" (*Aghṣán*).

Attempt to prejudice the American visitors against Muḥammad 'Alí.

Besides what has been mentioned, 'Abbás Efendi used to take every opportunity in the presence of Khayru'lláh to rise up and speak amongst his followers and attendants, and in the presence of the pilgrims and the Americans, explaining to them how he was wronged, and the vexations which he daily suffered at the hands of the Government and its agents, the origin of all of which he ascribed

* page 82.

to the treacherous intrigues of his brother Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, inciting them to avenge him, inspiring in their minds angry suspicions and the very spirit of hatred and enmity, and relating to them stories to the prejudice of the Members of the Holy House, at which the natural instinct revolted. So likewise his followers also imitated his procedure, communicating to the pilgrims the infamies which they ascribe to the Members of the Holy House. Consequently some of the American pilgrims communicated these scandalous stories to the believers in America after their return from 'Akká.

Is not such conduct diametrically opposed to the Bahá'í Spirit and Truth, to the Christian Spirit, and to the Spirit of the Prophets and Apostles?

Deceit sanctioned by 'Abbás Efendi.

The political sagacity of 'Abbás Efendi and the ways in which he meets the pilgrims with every display of affection, and the proffering of abundant distinctions and honours to them, as likewise his training of his followers and attendants to manifest towards him and also the pilgrims tender love, kindness and complete humility, assure him an absolute sovereignty over their intellects and win for him their blind confidence, so that they regard him *as great and perfect to such a degree that if he bids them perform actions which God hath declared unlawful, they do them unwittingly. As an instance of this, 'Abbás Efendi invited Colonel Bedrí Bey, the commanding officer of the Turkish troops there, to partake of food at his table with the American pilgrims who were there at that time. Before they entered the dining-room, however, 'Abbás Efendi commanded them through their interpreter at the time, Bahiyya the daughter

* page 83.

of Khayru'lláh, to deny all knowledge of the French language if Bedrí Bey should desire to converse with them in that tongue. So when all were gathered at the table, Bedrí Bey enquired if any of the Americans was conversant with the French language, for if so he would like to converse with them in it, since he did not know English. In obedience to 'Abbás Efendi's command they all denied such knowledge, though four of these respected ladies spoke French very well, namely, Mrs Hearst, Mrs Kruper, Mrs Thornbourg and Mrs Aberson. Verily God and His servants cannot teach their followers to deny the truth, for assuredly a lie is hateful in God's sight, whatever be the object in view, and truly what God hath forbidden cannot become right.

Prophecies of 'Abbás Efendi.

Amongst those events which can hardly be believed is that one day when we were sitting at table 'Abbás Efendi, addressing his remarks to some of the most respected of the American pilgrims, described to them certain important events in their past lives of which he was already cognizant by means of one of the American pilgrims[1] who wrote them down, desiring that they should be translated into Arabic for the information of 'Abbás Efendi. Then he addressed his conversation to one of the notable and respected ladies and prophesied to her about the life of her son in the future and the renown he would attain, saying, "After ten thousand years his journal will be sent *as a present of great price from one king to another king." After he rose from the table, Khayru'lláh approached him and showed how unfavourably he had been impressed by what had happened. But 'Abbás Efendi, smiling, laid his hand on Khayru'lláh's shoulder,

[1] Mr Getsinger. *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

* page 84.

and said to him, "Verily this was for a good reason which thou canst not understand at present."

Another of 'Abbás Efendi's prophecies.

Amongst his prophecies was also the following. We were with him at table when one of the American pilgrims[1] asked him to permit them to take his photograph, for it had never been taken save when he was a young man of twenty-seven in A.H. 1284 (A.D. 1867). He refused, however, to grant permission, saying that it would only be taken when his Father's crown[2] should be placed on his head and he should be led forth to martyrdom, when thousands of rifle bullets should piece his body. His words had a great effect, so that some of the auditors wept bitterly[3]. So likewise in his writings and speeches he laments and mourns on account of the vexations and calamities which have befallen and will befall him in God's Way. And this he did that men's hearts might incline towards him, and that he might stir in them sentiments of compassion and partisanship.

Khayru'lláh's wife leaves him.

And amongst the things which awakened Khayru'lláh to the double-faced policy of 'Abbás Efendi was that when he arrived with his wife and his two daughters at Port Said in Egypt on their return from the pilgrimage [to 'Akká] *en route* for America, his wife left him and travelled alone without saying one word to them or fulfilling the formalities of leave-taking. Those who beheld this were amazed thereat, having regard to the fact that 'Abbás Efendi, when he bade them farewell, emphatically enjoined on them that they should live together in love and concord.

[1] Mr Getsinger. *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] *Táj*, *i.e.* in this case the tall felt cap which Bahá'u'lláh used to wear.

[3] "He has been photographed many times since, and his prophecy has not been fulfilled." *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

Another thing which warned Khayru'lláh and generated doubt in his heart was the letter which reached him two months after his return to America from 'Abbás Efendi, written in 'Abbás Efendi's own handwriting and signed with his [usual] Signature "ع ع"[1]; which *letter is preserved and can be produced when necessary. This letter is a reply to a letter sent by Khayru'lláh from Paris to 'Abbás Efendi asking him to make known in what way he desired Mrs Hearst to send him the money which she had promised to send. For when Mrs Hearst met Khayru'lláh in Paris as he was returning from the pilgrimage [to 'Akká], she asked him to correspond with 'Abbás Efendi about this. So there came to him this letter above-mentioned, wherein 'Abbás Efendi praised him in the most exaggerated terms, ascribing to him lofty qualities wherewith none should be credited save only the Divine Manifestations. Such, for instance, were his words: "Verily thou art a centre of the Circle of God's Love, the pivot of consecration and humility to God." Now as regards the men of God, the world and the treasures which it contains preoccupy them not, so that if one of them passes by a valley of pure gold, his spirit doth not incline to take anything therefrom; nor is it possible, things being so, that money should impel him to write praise like that recorded above, which tore the veil from the eyes of Khayru 'lláh, so that he saw the Truth and comprehended this double-faced policy. More particularly, he discovered after careful investigation that 'Abbás Efendi, before the time when he wrote this panegyric, had written another letter censuring Khayru'lláh, which had been communicated to some of the American pilgrims who were there at the time,

Alleged duplicity of 'Abbás Efendi.

[1] The initials of 'Abbás 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

* page 85.

and who, after their return, communicated it to the American believers as it had been revealed to them by 'Abbás Efendi.

From this moment Khayru'lláh began to read the Holy Verses, to compare therewith 'Abbás Efendi's claims, acts and teachings, to weigh them in the balance of reason, and to measure them with the measure of the Holy Law revealed from the Supreme Pen. [Having done so] he found no escape from abandoning 'Abbás Efendi and thereafter turning towards His Holiness the Most Great Branch [*al-Ghuṣnu'l-Akbar*] Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, in obedience to the command contained in *the Book of my Testament*. So ere seven months had elapsed from the time of his pilgrimage *Ibráhím Khayru'lláh joined himself to the ranks of His Holiness Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi, and about three hundred of the believers in Chicago and Kenosha followed him, and likewise a small number from every city wherein believers were to be found. Most of the believers, however, continued to follow 'Abbás Efendi.

Khayru'lláh renounces 'Abbás Efendi in favour of his brother Muḥammad 'Alí.

Now as for the emissaries and ambassadors, 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ṭihrán, Asadu'lláh of Iṣfahán, Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, Mírzá Abu'l-Faẓl of Gulpáyagán and their followers, whom 'Abbás Efendi sent to America with the object of bringing back Khayru'lláh to him, and what he suffered at their hands and from the American followers of 'Abbás Efendi in the way of divers vexations and lying rumours, all these matters will be mentioned, if it please God, in another book, which shall be a memorial from which shall be diffused the fragrance of patience, forbearance and steadfastness in God's religion,

Bahá'í missionaries sent to America to reclaim or confute Khayru'lláh.

* page 86.

and the enduring of afflictions in His way. So likewise there will be recorded in it the three reasons which induced Khayru'lláh to forsake 'Abbás Efendi and adhere to his brother Muḥammad 'Alí Efendi. These reasons were:

The three stumbling-blocks of Khayru'lláh.

First, 'Abbás Efendi's claim to Divinity, in that he declared himself to be the Manifestation of Service, which is the greatest of the Divine Manifestations, and peculiar to the Father, the Lord of Hosts (Jehovah) alone. This is the supreme limit of Manifestation, which none claimed save only His Holiness Bahá (to whom be glory), who explicitly declared in numerous Tablets that He was the Servant, and the Visage and Very Self of the Eternal Essence. Again he declares himself to be the Enunciator (*mubayyin*), that is, God, as the Supreme Pen has explicitly declared in different passages. So likewise he claims to be the Centre of the Covenant, which is God alone, Bahá, who Himself covenanted with Himself before the creation of the heavens and the earths that man should worship none save God alone; as when He says, exalted is He: "He took the Covenant at the time of the Dawn[1] from those who *believed that they should worship none but God"; and [he advanced] other pretensions which it is unnecessary to mention.

(1) 'Abbás Efendi's claim to Divinity.

Secondly, that 'Abbás Efendi's teachings were at variance with the teachings of His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh in all respects, and were contrary to reason.

(2) His teachings inconsistent with those of Bahá'u'lláh.

Thirdly, that the conduct of 'Abbás Efendi and his daily actions were like those of a double-faced man, which is forbidden in the Scriptures.

(3) His duplicity.

[1] *i.e.* of the Manifestation or Theophany.

* page 87.

(4) Dissension and discord produced by his actions.

Fourthly, that whereas His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh in many passages of His works and in the Book of His Testament, commanded this community in the most categorical manner to put aside discord, to extinguish the fire of sectarian hatred, and to consort with [the adherents of] all religions and sects in courtesy, love, spirituality and fragrance, 'Abbás Efendi made naught of this most great gift and most high and glorious aim; in that he, for his private ends and personal ambitions, laid the foundations of hatred, rancour, discord and diversity amongst the People of Bahá, in such wise that he produced separation and discord between brother and sister, husband and wife, and father and son. We seek refuge in God the Preserver, the Almighty, from Whom help is invoked!

Finished in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 1322 (*April*, 1904)[1]; *written and compiled by Muḥammad Jawád of Qazwín, the Persian, at 'Akká.*

[1] The English Autobiography goes down to 1914 and the establishment of the *National Association of the Universal Religion* (N.A.U.R.).

II

IBRÁHÍM GEORGE KHAYRU'LLÁH AND THE BAHÁ'Í PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

The account of Khayru'lláh's life given by our author Muḥammad Jawád may be regarded, so far as it goes, as perfectly authentic, since it is based on his own statements[1]. I shall here endeavour to add such further details about the propaganda in which he took so great a part, and generally about the Bahá'í movement in America, as I have been able to glean from the sources at my disposal, which include, besides various published works, Eastern and Western, a number of letters written to me at various dates between December 1897 and August 1906 by some dozen American Bahá'ís, and three American newspapers (of August 12, 1900; February 16, 1902; and December 18, 1904) which Dr Goldziher of Budapest was kind enough to send me, and each of which contains, besides illustrations, some account of the progress of the movement.

Khayru'lláh, as we have seen, reached America in the course of the year 1893, and almost immediately began his propaganda in Chicago[2], which, as Mr Thornton Chase wrote to me ten years later (October 29, 1903), "still remains the stronghold and practical centre of the teachings in this country," and maintains a "House of Spirituality" (founded later by Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Iṣfahán by command of 'Abbás Efendi '*Abdu'l-Bahá*) and a "Bahá'í Publishing Society," for which translations of the most notable Bahá'í writings were

[1] As already mentioned (p. 93 *supra*, n. 1 *ad calc.*) the original autobiography has lately (1917) been published in English.

[2] In the Preface to his work *Behá'u'lláh*, dated Jan. 1, 1900, he says that he began to preach the Bahá'í gospel "over seven years ago."

prepared by the above-mentioned Asadu'lláh and later by his son Mírzá Faríd Amín, who came to Chicago about the end of 1901. For five years, during which he published (in 1896) his pamphlet entitled *Bábu'd-Dín*, Khayru'lláh's propaganda went quietly but steadily forward, without interference, and without attracting much notice outside the United States, especially in Chicago, New York and Ithaca, until in June, 1898, he set out with a few American believers on the visit to 'Akká which has been fully described above, and in which were sown the first seeds of the estrangement between him and 'Abbás Efendi '*Abdu'l-Bahá*.

The most interesting of my American correspondents was a Miss A. H. of Brooklyn, New York, from whom, between May and September 1898, I received five letters, together with notes of the first thirteen lectures given by Khayru'lláh in his course of instruction to enquirers. These throw so much light on the methods employed by him and the form given to the Bahá'í doctrine in America that I think it worth while to quote them in full.

1*st Letter* (*May* 15, 1898).

My dear Dr Browne:

The only apology which I have to offer for this intrusion is that I most earnestly desire information concerning Bábism, and that you are the only one known to me competent to give it.

A most ardent follower of Behá'u'lláh[1] is teaching here, and I, with many others, have been attending the classes. The lecturer, a Dr Kheiralla[1], has made the most astounding statements regarding Behá[1], but the proofs brought forward are sadly inferior to the claims set forth, so it seems to me. Most of them are verses taken from the prophetic books of

[1] I follow the spelling adopted by the writer.

the Bible. According to this doctor, Behá was God Himself. He teaches that God did not manifest *through* the personality of Behá, as in the case of Jesus, but that He really was God, and that He will not come again during this cycle. We are all called upon to believe this, or else forever lose our chance of salvation. Believing it makes us the adopted children of God, and we are given the power of creation. ' Prayer is taught, and little type written prayers composed by Behá are given to the students, and they are told to pray for spiritual things, which, however, they have no *right* to, else they would have received them, and there would be no need of asking for them. This is one of the principal points in the teachings. The first prayer given is really the most inclusive and truly beautiful one I have ever known. Angels are placed lower than man, for they are controlled by God, and man is not, but has free will and the power of choosing. Those who die without hearing of Behá are reincarnated and have another chance; those who have already heard do not. Believers see their friends who are not in the earth-body. God never takes a female form as he selects the stronger one to manifest Himself. There is to be a great time in the future when Napoleon IV, who is now a colonel in the Russian army, will war against the religion of Christ, aided by Russia, and the " Red Dragon " the Pope. France is to be an empire. The Napoleons are the Antichrists. Mírzá Yaḥyá[1] is scarcely spoken of, but when he is mentioned he is called Satan. I think very few of the students know anything about him. These are a few of the many statements made in the course of thirteen lessons; but there is not the slightest reference throughout the entire course to the development of character, and those who claim an inner guidance are particularly censured and ridiculed. Certain

[1] *i.e.* Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.

forms of metaphysical thought that have proved helpful to hundreds of people here receive a severe drubbing. Everything seems to be on the outside—just a belief in the "Manifestation" is what the doctor calls "Truth," so far as I have been able to learn, and that one's actions have nothing whatever to do with the case. At the last lecture the people are told, if they believe in the "Manifestation," to write a letter to 'Abbás Efendi, who is a reincarnation of Jesus Christ, stating their belief and begging to have their names recorded in the "Book of the favorites." They are informed that Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Joshua, and Daniel are reincarnated and are at Acre, the "Holy Place." The doctor further says that he has been sent by the Father and Jesus Christ to deliver the message concerning the "Manifestation" to the people of this country. He claims there are fifty-five million believers at the present time. A great mystery is made of the whole thing and the ideas are given out in minute portions, as we, it seems, are accounted slow of understanding in this country. The "message" or "pith," as it is called, is not given until the eleventh lesson. The effect upon the people is very strange. I never knew any one idea to create so many different and curious impressions. You will no doubt be surprised to hear that six hundred persons in Chicago, where Dr Kheiralla taught, are said to have declared themselves to be believers and that about two hundred persons in New York, so I am told, have written the letters to 'Abbás Efendi. The teachings are all free and are given with a sincerity and earnestness which I heartily admire. Such untiring devotion must appeal to all fair-minded persons, no matter how much they may differ as to the truth of the teachings.

This is the first that I have known of Bábism, so I am very ignorant concerning it. What I want so much to know

is whether these ideas are held in general by the Behái's, and above all if Behá'u'lláh himself believed he was God, the Almighty, and that the salvation of the race rests upon that belief. We have been taught nothing about the life and character of Behá. To me it seems perfectly absurd to believe in the vanishing form of a man.

I found your interesting books in a reading library, and I go there to read them; but I have not yet been able to find out for sure that Behá was what this Bábí doctor claims for him.

When I began this letter I had no idea it would assume the proportions of a small book; but perhaps you will pardon its length when I tell you I really could not make it shorter and say what I wished to.

With respect, I am,

Most sincerely,

(Miss) A. H.

2nd Letter (*June* 15, 1898).

My dear Dr Browne,

Your kind letter of May 29th has reached me, and I am much surprised to learn of the error made in the number of Behá's followers, for I sincerely believe that Dr Kheiralla would not wilfully make a false statement. I have noticed that his intense zeal and love for the cause make him at times use extravagant language, and I have made due allowance for this. For instance he told me a few weeks since in speaking of the "believers" in America that every one of them would lay down his life for the cause. He is rather excitable, but he has an extremely kind and sweet heart, and I am sure that could he but suffer martyrdom he would be supremely happy. How he has come to give the statistics so remarkable a twist I cannot imagine. Besides stating that there are at present fifty-five million believers, he told us in

his last lecture that there were forty millions at the time of Behá's death in 1892. *The New History* I have not yet read, but I found your articles on Bábism in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1889 and '92. Much of it I was unable to read on account of its being written in Persian; the English language is the only one that I know. But when I found the summary of the "Most Holy Tablet" I was very happy because it gave me some knowledge of Behá. I have enjoyed it very much, especially whenever there was anything about the Bábí who visited Behá so many times. What you wrote in your letter concerning the two views of God's way of dealing with man is exceedingly helpful, for things have been a trifle hazy since I have been investigating Bábism, and you will understand why when you know more of its propaganda. My belief is very simple in spite of a great fondness for metaphysics, and there is nothing I love so well as to hear about the ways to God. The mystics have always a wondrous charm for me. It must be true that the Father manifests in all His children, but that some minds are purer and are better media for the Light to shine through; that He is with each of us at all times. If God is omnipresent, surely He is with every soul. You see that I can accept a "Manifestation," and when I first heard of Behá and 'Abbás Efendi I was very glad, as I have wished many times to know some great soul on the earth who had made the "union." I have had so many teachers and I find alas! they really know nothing about God; most of their words are born on their lips and they have not the slightest perception of the profound ideas which they voice; but when I met Dr Kheiralla I saw that at last I had found one who really believes his own teaching and is giving all that he has to spread what he thinks is true; right or wrong he is faithful. Behá must have been a marvellous personality to

so control another. I wanted to know of the great force back of this new teacher, and I listened to the teachings very closely; but nothing that I was in search of came. So one day I went to Dr Kheiralla and asked him if he meant to simply *declare* the "Manifestation"—if that was not his only message. He said yes, and that was all he had to do—just to bring the people to God. No ethics, no religious life does he pretend to teach. But he does such a peculiar thing; at the end of the thirteenth lesson all teaching ends for those who do not write the letter to 'Abbás Efendi; but those who do are received into the fold and are given further instructions. The following is a fairly accurate form of the letter given to the students:

"*To the Greatest Branch,*

In God's Name, the Greatest Branch, I humbly confess the oneness and singleness of the Almighty God, my Creator, and I believe in His appearance in the human form; I believe in His establishing His holy household; in His departure, and that He has delivered His kingdom to Thee, O Greatest Branch, His dearest son and mystery. I beg that I may be accepted in this glorious kingdom and that my name may be registered in the 'Book of Believers.' I also beg the blessings of worlds to come and of the present one for myself and for those who are near and dear to me (the individual may ask for anything he likes); for the spiritual gifts which Thou seest I am best fitted for—for any gift or power for which Thou seest me to be best fitted.

Most humbly thy servant, ..."

It is impossible for me to write such a letter, for the doctor has not proved to my satisfaction that Behá was a *particular* "manifestation" and there is really nothing in the letter that I can honestly say I believe—except the "oneness and singleness of the Almighty God." Besides, to beg for

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spiritual gifts and blessings of any human being at Acre or anywhere else is to me positively shocking. The idea of favoritism is also very repulsive. But I want very much to learn all that I can of Behá and 'Abbás Efendi, and the ethics and religious life of the sect. The believers are given some mysterious name which openly they always call "The Greatest Name." It is given very privately and in a very solemn manner. They are supposed to make use of it when in need. I am sorry to say that some people have sent the letter for the sake of the rest of the teaching and for a mysterious something which they hope to get. This propaganda is the strangest and the most unique one that America has ever known and I'm quite sure that you cannot form a correct idea of it unless you have heard something of every one of the lectures, and in the order in which they were given. I have therefore concluded to send you what I can of the leading ideas of each one. Many things I cannot explain, for explanations were not given, but we were told that we should know in the future. That future has never come—it may be reserved for the believers. Besides the doctor requested the students to take no notes up to about the tenth lecture, when the use of pencils and paper was allowed. The "message" is given in the eleventh lesson. After each lecture I jotted down what I could remember of the main ideas. There will be a good deal of fog, but I hope you will be able to see through it. The doctor repeatedly declares that this is a teaching where everything is proved and I should like you to know just how he proves the "Manifestation."

With this letter I send the first two lectures. I will send the others later on.

Sincerely yours,

A. A. H.

3rd Letter (*July* 10, 1898).

My dear Dr Browne,

Enclosed you will find four more lectures. The meaning of the sixth lesson is distressingly obscure in my mind, and I could not do otherwise than place it so on paper. But I have tried to do Dr Khéiralla justice, and trust that I have given everything just as I heard it. I believe there are two different "images," but I am not at all sure. The doctor does not seem to be able to express his ideas in our language so clearly as the Hindoo exponents of the Vedanta philosophy and other forms of Oriental thought. The students are in utter ignorance as to what the religion or sect really is until the eleventh lesson; it was called the "Religion of God"; at first we were told it is in all parts of the world, even in the heart of Africa. To our amazement we find out when we reach the last lesson that there is some literature on the subject. As the taking of notes is seldom allowed the memory is mainly depended upon, and the result is that at the end of the course, the Báb, 'Abbás Efendi and Behá'u'lláh are most ludicrously confounded: under the circumstances perhaps Mírzá Yaḥyá has fared better by being kept out. I asked one of the most enthusiastic believers about *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel*, and she said that she had heard him lecture; she thought he was one of the Hindoo Swamis! When I told her I meant Satan she seemed to know. This confusion exists in New York I am sure, as I have talked with a number of the people who have listened to the entire course and have repeated the lectures. A woman who has been a believer for more than three years and is now a teacher (there are more than twenty teachers in Chicago), told me a few weeks since that she has never read any of the

books on the subject. It is my impression that very few of the believers have. This may not be the case with those in Chicago. Some New York people have sent recently for copies of the *Traveller's Narrative.* There is little chance for discussion at any lecture, as the doctor has an extremely funny way of telling people who oppose his views in the class that they are "excused." Of course they have to leave, and in profound silence the surprised offender arises, packs up what belongs to him and makes as graceful an exit as he can under the trying conditions. The lesson is then resumed with great serenity on the doctor's part. At the first lecture the people are requested not to talk over what they are told with outsiders. An air of mystery is over the whole affair and infinitesimal things are most enormously magnified, and the way in which [some] matters are minimized in order to maximize other points in the teaching is truly remarkable; I mean interpretations of the English Bible. Many people hear all they care to in a very few lessons. The doctor works hard and faithfully, starting class after class until there are seven or eight, all receiving the same lectures. One can repeat a lecture a number of times provided one has heard the previous lesson. If a student loses one, Mrs Kheiralla sometimes gives the main points privately. Public talks on reincarnation, evolution, and Bible interpretation are given; but the "Manifestation" is not taught outside of the classes, or in some private way. A great deal is made of visions; they are seeing Acre, 'Abbás Efendi, the old man at Acre that we were told is Joshua reincarnated, and others of the household. The visions are told to the doctor, and he does the best he can with them and there is great satisfaction. The believers have organized in New York with a president and several vice-presidents. The first vice-president told me that they are 107 or 109 in

number and that they call themselves an "Assembly." The believers (I do not know that this includes the Chicago people) have collected about one thousand dollars. The movement was started in New York last February by a Mr Dodge, formerly of Chicago, who is now president of the New York organization. He sent for Dr Kheiralla who was living in Chicago, paid the expenses of the doctor and his wife while in New York, and provided the rooms for the classes which ended in June. The lessons are to be begun again in the fall. I most sincerely hope that 'Abbás Efendi will send others that we may know whether these ideas are held in common by the sect; one gets a very imperfect idea from only one representative. I asked Mr Dodge how many believers there are now, and he said about fifty-five or *sixty* millions! I was very much amazed at the sudden rise in numbers. This gentleman is exceedingly generous and is working hard upon an invention by which he hopes to make one million dollars. His wife told me that he intends to put all of this money into the movement; this was not told me in confidence[1].

I enclose two prayers which Dr Kheiralla gave me in the class, that you might see the exact form in which they were given. Will you kindly return the smaller one only, marked "4th Lesson" at your leisure..... I am on a summer tour, but I have all the lecture notes with me and can send them just the same. I hope the first two reached you.

Respectfully yours,

A. A. H.

[1] Mr A. P. Dodge came to England in November, 1900, when I met him in Cambridge. See p. 148 *infra*.

4th Letter (*Aug.* 20, 1898).

My dear Dr Browne,

Enclosed are five more lectures. In the tenth lesson Dr Kheiralla is entirely wrong about the Christian Scientists. They teach that man is a reflection of perfect Mind or Principle—never that he is God. No Christian Scientist ever says "I am Brahma" as a Vedantist of the Adwaita school does. I think he has confused the two. He has a queer conception of some of the ideas promulgated here; he thinks that those who teach the mother principle of God mean that He is a woman. A few of the dates in the 11th lesson concerning the "Manifestation" the doctor was not sure about, as he relied upon his memory only. The book written by Behá is at Acre and in the Sultan's library. The doctor says that his people do not call themselves Bábís but others do. I believe that I have not mentioned the doctor's healing; he assured me that he gives no medicine, but to some patients he gives a hubble-bubble to inhale the fumes of certain herbs; of course this is medicine. He has another way of healing. A person who has rheumatism in her fingers told me that she went to him twice for treatment and he sat very quietly and held her fingers for a time. This patient was not helped; she was not a believer. But a believer told me he had cured her of some trouble, and Mrs Kheiralla informed me that he has quite a practice in Chicago. The lessons are free, but the treatments are two dollars each. Healing is said to be a gift, but I have not read anywhere that Bábís heal mentally. In lesson five it is clearly stated that Behá was a Manifestation of God, but in lesson eleven he is God Himself. I was much puzzled and asked Dr Kheiralla about it. He very humbly attempted to explain and began by saying that Behá was a Manifesta-

tion only, but before he ended he certainly spoke of him as being God. I asked if *Behá'ul-Abhá* is the "Most Sacred Name" and was told that it is not; that is one of the names of Behá. I think the name contains nine letters[1] as the place where it is omitted on the slip of paper which I sent contains nine dots.

A. A. H.

5th Letter (*Sept.* 18, 1898).

My dear Dr Browne,

The enclosed two lectures are the last in the course of thirteen delivered by Dr Kheiralla on the religion of the Behá'ís. I have sent eleven others at different times, which I hope have reached you. Perhaps you may not care for the notes; but it occurred to me that since you had spent so much time in investigating Bábism and in helping others to learn what it is, possibly you might like to know just what is being taught in America concerning it, especially as Doctor Kheiralla was sent by Behá himself. I have tried to be accurate and to give as full notes as lay in my power, but lack of interest prevented me from remembering more, which I now regret, as I fear it has hindered me from presenting the teachings quite fairly. However, I do not think that I have omitted anything which was given as "proof" of the "Manifestation."

With hearty appreciation of your earnest study of spiritual ideas and of the aid which you render to others in increasing their knowledge of religious thought, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A. A. H.

[1] This is correct as regards the Arabic form بهآءالابهى.

Miss A. A. H.'s Abstracts of Dr Khayru'lláh's Lectures.

1st Lesson.

Proof of soul and its immortality.—Matter is indestructible.—Silver dollar used as illustration.—Its qualities, as weight, density, smoothness, hardness, etc. spoken of.—Back of every quality is an essence.—The essence is unknown; the qualities prove the essence. We can never know an atom in our present condition. The soul has nine qualities; namely, perception, will, reason, judgment, memory, consciousness, mental taste, imagination and abstraction. Back of the qualities there must be an essence. Matter has none of these qualities. If matter is indestructible, how much more the soul. The consciousness carries things to the soul; it is a reporter. Perception and intuition are only a strong power of classification (an intuitive person knows just how to place things). Man has not the creative power, he only combines. God is perfection; nothing can be added to Him or taken from Him. He cannot be divided; we are not parts of Him.

2nd Lesson.

What mind is.—In all languages mind means that which protects us from what is harmful, and is the receiver of that which is good. In Syriac it means a fort built on a hill. Mind is a collective name given to the nine qualities or faculties of the soul when they are in operation. The qualities act together, never singly. They are always fighting for us; they hurry us to the table when hungry, they tell us to protect ourselves when cold, etc. There is no mortal mind, no universal mind. Each one has a mind and a soul

or spirit. The mind is eternal, because the essence or soul is eternal, and its qualities are eternal. We can receive nothing except through mind. Thought is the action of the mind's nine qualities. The action is never the actor. When we remember, it is the action of the mind.—We are not memory; when we judge we think, when we reason we think. Contact with the outside develops these qualities; a child left alone would still be a baby at forty years of age. What is called subjective and objective mind is the same mind, only different operations or conditions of that same mind. Mind has an internal, or subjective, and an external, or objective, action. We have not two minds. Different workings of a fort likened to the qualities of the soul. The officer (reason) commands the soldiers (will), etc. God is not Love, He is Loving; God has Power, He is not Power; He is not Mind, and those who say so blaspheme. God is limited to Himself, because He knows Himself; to us He is limitless. He is manifested through everything, but He is not the thing manifested.

3rd Lesson.

The needs of the Soul and the Body.—The body needs food, drink, and protection. God has given us kitchens, to wit the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, where we can supply the needs of the body, and we do not need to pray for such things. Man spends most of his time in taking care of the body. This teaching has nothing to do with the body. The teaching is for the soul and is spiritual; the food for the soul is not material. What we eat does not make us spiritual. The animals are for us to eat. (The condition of India, which was spoken of as a place of plague and famine, kept in subjection by a few red-coats, was here compared with America, and the vegetarians were

unmercifully criticised.) The soul needs food, drink, and protection. The food of the soul is the knowledge of God; the drink of the soul is faith; the protection of the soul is love. We should ask for knowledge, faith, and love. The knowledge of God produces faith. *We* are taught to believe only what we *know*. We cannot love God if we do not know Him. (I have heard the doctor say that we can *never* know God.) When we know Him we shall love each other, and we shall also know why knowledge is knowing facts, while wisdom is knowing how to use knowledge.

Jesus was the greatest one ever on this planet. (A great difference is made between Jesus and Behá; God is said to have manifested *through* Jesus.)

4th Lesson.

Prayer:—Nine is a sacred number; everything in nature is planned on the number nine (this was not explained). There are nine openings in the body; the navel opening was locked and you are going to know why (this too was never explained). The sacred number nine is in this prayer. (I have marked the divisions in the prayer.) 19, 29 and 90 are also sacred numbers, but 9 is the most sacred one. In our religion prayer is called commune. We need to pray; God does not need our prayers. We do not need to ask for those things which God has given us the power to get, things out of the earth, etc.—but we should ask for what we have not received yet—what is not our *right* to have—and we shall receive if we ask earnestly. We should pray for spiritual things. Some pray for material things; some pray and use the wrong *Name*; they will not receive; some think they are gods, and have no need of prayers. *We* believe in prayer. We are here to battle and we need help. We will not develop if we do not pray. We should

not beg but ask earnestly. We are to share God's majesty and glory through prayer. We communicate with God through talking with Him. Use of the right *Name* is the pass-word. When you become "believers" the "Greatest Name" will be given you to be used in time of need. Prayers are pass-words and we have used prayers of our own making; have used the wrong pass-word; should not compose them. If we do not use the right pass-word God will hear, but He will not answer. We prove our teachings in three ways: by science and logic, by the prophets and teachers, and by revelations. We believe that *we* have the absolute truth. If you use these prayers earnestly you will have dreams or visions which will come to pass. I promise you that you will have revelations if you use them. All do who use them; but we do not depend upon revelations for proof of the truth. [The doctor told the students to tell him their visions, and if they came to pass they would know them to be true.] You can have dreams and visions through hypnotism. [Some Eastern practices for spiritual development were spoken of and condemned.] Gazing at the tip of the nose is the most powerful form of hypnotism. Don't concentrate: you will go crazy, as professional chess-players do. The real dreams and visions will be those that come to pass.

Many have been sent by God, Noah, Moses, and others; but the teachings were all corrupted. When they become so, God sends another. At last He sent Jesus, His Beloved Son. Brahmins and Buddhists do not know what their true religion is. The Mohammedan is the most corrupt of all. A few days (I'm not sure about the exact number of days) after the death of Mohammed his teaching was corrupted.

Truth is to know God. We must know God if we are to love Him, otherwise we love our imaginations.

5th Lesson.

Second prayer given. There are 27 [? 28] letters called the "Letters of *Luddon*[1]," and every letter signifies a great power which can only be received by special permission from head-quarters (Acre). *Luddon* means presence of God, or presence of the Almighty. This prayer is very important, as it asks for growth "by that letter"; letter means growth, not creation. "The fruits appeared"; the tree came first and then the fruit. God created one man and one woman; they obeyed the law of multiplication and wove a tent for another soul. "The trees began to thrive," God made *one tree* and from the seeds came others. "The traces were destroyed"; in all material growth the last destroys the traces of the first. "The curtains were torn asunder"; here the spiritual part of the prayer begins. The finite cannot comprehend the infinite; this is what is between God and us. (Read from Isaiah xlii, 10[2] and St John i, 18.) God is forever unknowable. He wished to make Himself known, and as the finite cannot comprehend the infinite He made a form, He chose a "Face[3]," that through that He might become known to us. He is not the form; it only represents Him. He is back of it, and is not confined to the form. "The faithful hurried": when the faithful hear of this "Face" of God they hasten to live with this form of God for ever. The "face" is called by different names; as, "The Chosen," "my Son David," etc. He came here that we might gain higher limitations. We receive the Letters of *Luddon* in our new limitations. Jesus had 12 powers, 8

[1] Probably حروف لدنی in the original Arabic phrase.

[2] Though I have done my best to verify and correct these references to the Bible, here and in some other cases I have failed to do either, and so leave them as they stand.

[3] *Wajh* (وجه), a term which the Báb often applied to himself.

first, then 4 (did not say what they all were). One power is to communicate without material means; another one is sight. The teacher has no power to convey to another these powers given by head-quarters. We gain by being active not passive, but gain nothing by sleep. (The spiritual were censured for "sitting development.") There is such a thing as "sitting in the silence."

Jesus came to teach the Kingdom of God. (Read Luke iv, 43.)

The soul does not leave the body until death. We do not travel in the astral [body] and see places. People say that they have seen a thread connection[1], but *we know* it is not so. We see things as if the light were reflected in one mirror and then in another and another. The soul thinks it is moving when something is only passing before it.

6th Lesson.

This is a very important lesson, as it tells where we came from, why we are here, and where we are going. Eden means the paradise of God. It is not a place. No tree of knowledge and evil can grow in the soil; it is not a real tree (read Revelation xxii, 2 as one proof). Rivers mentioned in Genesis (ii, 10—14) are not real rivers, for you never see rivers branching into four heads. (We were told in a later lecture that the "Manifestation" is the big river and the four branches are the four sons of Behá.) There are three Adams—the race, our ancestor, and we shall know the other (Behá) when we get to the "pith." Adam spoke the Kurdish language, which has no alphabet and is a short

[1] This apparently refers to the belief (finely set forth near the beginning of the First Book of the *Mystical Mathnawí*) that men's souls escape from their bodies during sleep, but are attached to them by an immaterial thread which compels them to re-enter their respective bodies when the night is over.

spoken language only. Silence will prove this. Adam does not mean "red earth"; it means the "skin" or "surface." Eve means life[1]. God gave Adam and Eve "coats of skin," to wit the body. He made but two coats of skin. The meaning of "coats of skin" is His "image." Adam and Eve obeyed the law of multiplication and gave tents to other souls. They had two children, Cain and Abel. These are not material children. Cain means the material and Abel means the spiritual, and these are always at war. There are three bibles: the Hebrew, the Egyptian, and the Chaldean. The Hebrew borrowed from the Egyptian, and the Egyptian from the Chaldean. All have [the same] account from Adam to Moses. We were in Eden, the Paradise of God. The serpent, Wisdom, suggested to us that we should go higher and be as gods. We asked God for this great privilege, and we were allowed to come to earth where this great privilege is to be gained. The "flaming sword" is the earth. Our will is free at all times; we can choose. Angels are always controlled by God; they are lower than man and never gain the "great privilege," as they have no desire to go higher. We come to earth to overcome. To overcome means to have the desire for a knowledge of God above all desires. We are not here to love each other or to be kind to one another; of course we should be [so]; but that is not what we are here for. Those who overcome return to Eden. The tree of knowledge and tree of life are God. When we become adopted children we eat of the tree of life. Cain, the material, is cast out. Cain's "mark" is God's image, the skin (?). (It is the thickest kind of fog right here.) Those having the "mark"

[1] In Arabic *Ḥawwá*, from the same root as *ḥayy*, "living," and *ḥayát*, "life."

never become the adopted children of God; they bring this upon themselves; it is not a punishment. Cain went to the Land of Nod [Genesis iv, 16] which means wandering. Impossible to live with God unless we have the image. All go to the Land of Nod who do not conquer. (The Prodigal Son was quoted as proof that Jesus taught these ideas.) We learn to know the good from the evil.

Shepherd in the Bible means spiritual man.

It is a blessing not to remember our past. A baby remembers at first, but after three days the memory is locked.

7th Lesson.

Noah's Ark.—The ark is a symbol of God, and means protection. The Temple of Solomon is the same. The clean animals "by sevens" (Genesis vii, 2) are the believers; "by two" means the believers' parents, who are protected because of the believers. 70 persons went into the ark; 40 first and then 30. The translation is wrong. "Raven" means calamities, and "dove" peace. (A curious story was related in which a dot caused by a fly changed a character which meant husband to mean mule[1].) Jesus in speaking of the rich did not use the word which means camel; he used a word which means thread. He meant those who thought themselves rich in spiritual things. It is just as easy for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven as it is for others. The entrance to a city is not called "Eye of a Needle" in the New Testament, and theologians know it, but will not say so for fear of the people's faith.

"Water" in the Bible means teachings, and "Mountains" the mighty ones of earth. [Compare p. 140, l. 3 *infra*.]

[1] I do not recognize this story, but a similar one about a fly which changed بِا (with) into یا (or) is related in Ouseley's *Notices of the Persian Poets* (London, 1846), pp. 157—8.

8th and 9th Lessons (given as one lesson).

The prayer and Bible references were given to each person. The references were to be studied, and each student was to come to the 10th lesson prepared to give his idea of the meaning. The class were then permitted to ask questions. These are a few of the statements in answer to questions. God never chooses a female form through which to manifest: He chooses the male as it is the stronger. There is no sex in spirit. "Curse" means to put in a lower place. The serpent, Wisdom, was compelled to go lower. When we do wrong it bites our heel or where we are walking. Moses and Elias did really return to this earth and appeared on the Mount of Transfiguration. The accounts of Creation in Genesis were given by three different persons. The prophets themselves did not know the meaning of their own prophecies; the meaning was always concealed until the prophecy came to pass. God made disease; it exists because of the perfection of the law; it is the result of the law. We must all die. It is possible to communicate with others without physical contact. There are 42 million "tablets" (*alwáḥ*) in the religion of the Beha'is.

10th Lesson.

The class were asked to give their ideas as to the meaning of the biblical references in the 9th lesson, but scarcely any one answered satisfactorily. Some said Jesus was referred to, but this was denied with great energy by Dr Kheiralla, and Isaiah ix, 6 was given as proof. Jesus was not "the Almighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace"; he was not a ruler. The answer which seemed to give satisfaction was that a manifestation of God was foretold. Revelation i was read as evidence that Jesus bore

witness to the Manifestation. Job xix, 25; Ezekiel xliii, 4; Isaiah lxiii, 1, and Jude 14 are proofs of the Manifestation. In Isaiah xxiv, 23 the "moon" means Turkey and the "sun" means Persia. (Headquarters at Acre are called Jerusalem, and some place in the mountains is Zion.) Isaiah xlvii was read and a very strong body of religionists in America called Christian Scientists was condemned for saying, "I am and none else beside me" (verse 10). II Timothy iv, [3—4, but perhaps I, iv is meant] was read as referring to those who are now promulgating certain ideas here. The meaning of "clouds" is ignorance. Jesus taught the Kingdom of God; 226 years after Christ the Trinity was taught.

11th Lesson.

The "Pith".—In 1844 the Báb appeared in Persia. He was 19 years old. He came as Elijah. He used sometimes to set a chair, covered with cashmere, for the one whose coming he foretold, but he did not know when or where the "Manifestation" would appear. He proclaimed the Kingdom of God at hand. He said, "God is among the human race; the Father is come." In 1844 the Millerites also appeared. The Báb had wonderful spiritual powers and was remarkable for his power of logic. Like Abraham he was a wanderer; like Mahomet he was a merchant; like Moses he had power of argument; and he was like Christ because he was crucified. He wrote a large book called the *Beyán*. The Báb had a great following. He was persecuted by the Mohammedans; was arrested by the government; foretold his own death. In 1850 the Báb and his secretary were suspended by ropes from a wall; soldiers fired; the secretary was killed, but the bullets cut the ropes by which the Báb was suspended and he escaped. The soldiers refused to fire again, but other soldiers fired and the Báb was killed. Mahomet prophesied

the Báb's death. Mahomet was a true prophet. A tradition 1300 years ago says that Mahomet said ships (railroads) would sail on land; railroads were introduced in 1828. In 1852–1853 the Incarnation of God (Behá) appeared. He left Ṭihrán as an exile in 1852. He was of family of Kings[1]. Went to Baghdád to River Chebar with 7000 prophets (Ezekiel xliii, 3). Here he manifested himself for 5 days as the Lord of Hosts, having been previously shaved by a barber (Isaiah vii, 20), after which he veiled himself. Jesus Christ ('Abbás Efendi) as a boy was with him. In 1863 the Sultan invited the "Manifestation" to visit Constantinople. At this time there were 30,000 believers. He appeared before the Sultan, who asked for proof of his divinity. Behá asked the Sultan if he believed in Mahomet. The Sultan said that he did, and Behá asked for a sign. The Sultan replied that the Korán was a proof. Behá then wrote a book larger than the Korán in 6 hours as a sign of his own divinity. Behá was ordered to Adrianople. At one time a regiment was sent against him. Behá rebuked it and the regiment returned, without harming him (Psalm lxxvi). Behá declared himself God to the world in 1866. He was exiled to Acre in 1868–1869. He prophesied that the ship in which he sailed would go to pieces, and it sunk on its return voyage. Micah contains an account of Acre, the New Jerusalem. In 1869–1870 Behá sent tablets to the different rulers calling upon them to throw their kingdoms at his feet and worship him. He sent Napoleon III two tablets, and the Pope three. A tablet was sent to General Grant. The only ones who replied were Queen Victoria and Alexander II. The Queen said if it was of God it would stand, and the Czar said that he should investigate the

[1] This, of course, is quite incorrect. He was the son of Mírzá Buzurg of Núr.

matter. Napoleon tore the tablet, and said that if Behá was God, he was also. Behá told Napoleon his secrets and prophesied that he would be punished. He also prophesied as to the future of the German Emperor. There was a conference of the Powers against Behá. The "Manifestation" left the earth in 1892, leaving the Kingdom to Jesus Christ. The 25 years following the departure of the "Manifestation"[1] will be years of calamities. The Millennium is to come in 1917; this is the Resurrection, when one out of every three will become a follower of Behá. Napoleon IV who is in the guards of the Czarina will defeat Germany aided by the "Dragon," the Pope and Russia. He will persecute the believers. France will be an empire. There are now fifty-five million believers in this religion.

A message, said to be from Jesus Christ and addressed to the students in Chicago where there were about thirty, was read.

12th Lesson.

In 1852–1853 God Almighty appeared. He was born in Persia among the Mohammedans; declared himself God in 1866, and departed in 1892. He wrote forty million "tablets," no two alike. Numbers have letters; 1892 spells Jehovah in Hebrew. Prof. Totten predicted the end of the world in 1892, but this was really the end of a dispensation. See Isaiah xxiv, 23 and Revelation xii, 1; where the woman clothed with the Sun (Persia) and the Moon (Turkey) under her feet, is Mahomet, while the "twelve stars" [indicate the period][2] from Mahomet to the Báb. Rock (stone) means Mohammedanism, and is a prophecy of Behá. 600 years after Christ came Mahomet and the Pope. Catholics fought Mohammedans 400 years (Revelation xii,

[1] *i.e.* 1892–1917. [2] *i.e.* the number of centuries.

3, 4). The "Dragon" is the Pope; seven great powers under the Pope; "the third part" (the Christians) followed the Pope. In Revelation xii, [15—]16 "water" means "teachings." In Revelation xii, 6 "a thousand two hundred and three score days" mean 1260 years. (Compare Ezekiel iv, 6, according to which 1260 days = 1260 years).

[The year] 1260 of the Mohammedan era = A.D. 1844.

1260 = "a time, and times, and half a time." (Revelation xii, 14.)

Time = 360
Times = 360 × 2 } = 1260.
Half a time = 180

Daniel xii, 11. The "Abomination" is Napoleon III.

Daniel viii, 13. The "transgression of desolation" means Napoleon III. The Napoleons are the anti-Christs. 483 years between "vision" and Christ; 2300 days between Christ and the "Manifestation." (Daniel ix, 25, and viii, 13, 14.)

Daniel xii, 7. "The man clothed in linen" means Christ.

Daniel xii, 4. "Many shall run to and fro" means shall read page after page. "The book" is sealed because it is a prophecy; it will be opened when it comes to pass. Calamities will purify the believers.

Daniel xii, 12. The "thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" mean A.H. 1335 = A.D. 1916–1917.

A.D. 1892 = 1309 Mohammedan date.

In the Millennium we shall live as one family.

John was not regenerated.

Abraham, Moses, Jacob, and Daniel are all at Acre.

13*th Lesson.*

The household and departure of the "Manifestation." Zechariah iv is a prophecy of the household of the "Manifestation." The candlestick is the "Manifestation," God

(verse 14). He married two wives[1]; they are the "anointed ones" or "olive trees." People object to the "Manifestation" because of his being married. A real man ought to marry; a monk is the invention of priests. God came as a man, had a father and mother, fulfilled His own law, and married. In Isaiah xlv (9—)11 we are rebuked for thinking God should do as we think best. The greatest reason why God should marry is that the race is grafted through His having children. He is the Tree of Life and we are grafted. See Genesis vi (1—4) concerning marriage of the sons of God. Also Isaiah lxvi, 9. The "seven lamps" or "seven eyes" are the children of Behá, 4 males and 3 females. One wife had two daughters, the other had one. One wife died. The four sons are called Branches[2]; the three daughters are the Holy Leaves[3]. Every woman belongs to one of the Holy Leaves; every man belongs to one of the Holy Branches. The eldest son is Jesus Christ. Mary, the mother is buried at Acre. The eldest daughter is equal in power with the eldest son. We are the trees in the Garden of Eden, the big river is the "Manifestation," and the "four rivers" are the four sons.

The body.—The heart represents the "Manifestation"; the lungs, the two wives; the 24 ribs, the 24 elders. (I could not remember other parts—something about the tribes of Israel and leaves of lungs being like the daughters, etc.)

Zechariah iii, 8—9.—Joshua took the place of Satan; the "stone" means God. The tabernacle of Moses, Ark of Noah, Temple of Solomon, Pyramids, and tabernacle of

[1] One named Nawwáb, the mother of 'Abbás Efendi and his sister Bahiyya; the other entitled *Mahd-i-'Ulyá*, the mother of Muḥammad 'Alí, Ẓiyá'u'lláh, and Badí'u'lláh. See pp. 62—3 *supra* and Section IX *infra*.

[2] *Ghuṣn*, plural *Aghṣán*.

[3] *Waraqát*.

Buddha were built on the plan of the "Manifestation's" household. Zechariah xii, 10 *et seqq.* is a prophecy of the death of Behá. Also Zechariah xiii, 1—7.

David is sometimes used to mean the "Manifestation." He is sometimes called "My servant." Ezekiel xxxiv, 23—24.

All prophecy is about the "Manifestation," and henceforth there will be no more prophecy. At the time of Behá's death there were 40 million believers.

Dr E. G. Browne of Cambridge was appointed by the Royal Asiatic Society to investigate Bábism[1].

The account of the visit to Acre in *The Traveller's Narrative* was read, and also the announcement of Behá's death sent to Dr Browne by the youngest Branch[2]. The members of the class were told what a great privilege it is to have one's name written in the "Book of the Believers," and it was suggested that they should write to the Greatest Branch[3] to beg this privilege. The form of the letter was read and some of the members made copies of the form. Those who write the letter and are "accepted" join the class of believers, and the mysteries contained in the book of Revelation are revealed to them[4].

These notes of Khayru'lláh's propagandist lectures in America, though fragmentary, are instructive as to the methods he adopted and the modifications he introduced into Bahá'í doctrine to adapt it to American taste and

[1] This, of course, is a pure fiction, though my first papers on the subject were published in 1889 in the *Journal* of that society.

[2] *i.e.* Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, entitled *Ghuṣn-i-Anwar*, "the Most Luminous Branch." The text and translation of this communication will be found in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1892, pp. 706—9. It was written on June 25, 1892.

[3] *i.e.* 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá, entitled *Ghuṣn-i-A'ẓam.*

[4] Here ends Miss A. A. H.'s communication.

comprehension. Particularly noticeable is the extensive application of Bible prophecies, especially the very ingenious interpretations of the obscure sayings and numbers in the Book of Daniel and in the Apocalypse of St John. The full elaboration of Khayru'lláh's teaching is contained in his books *Báb-ed Dín, the Door of True Religion* (Chicago, 1897), and *Behá'u'lláh* (*the Glory of God*), 2 vols. (Chicago, Jan. 1, 1900[1]). His statement that "at the time of Behá's death there were forty million believers" is, of course, an absurd exaggeration; still more so his assertion that "at the present time (*i.e.* 1897 or 1898) there are fifty-five million believers." In his pamphlet *The Three Questions* (undated) Khayru'lláh says (p. 22), however, that though this number was given to him by his teacher 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ṭihrán, resident in Cairo, and was confirmed by 'Abbás Efendi's secretary, Sayyid Muḥammad Taqí Minshadí, "the number of Beháists is not known, but cannot be more than three millions."

The interesting account of the Bábís entitled *Ta'ríkhu'l-Bábiyya, aw Miftáḥu Bábi'l-Abwáb* ("History of the Bábís, or the Key to the Gate of the Gates"), composed in Arabic by Dr Mírzá Muḥammad Mahdí Khán *Za'ímu'd-Dawla* (editor of the Persian paper *Ḥikmat*), and published at Cairo by the Press of *Al-Manár* in 1321 (1903–4), concludes (pp. 437—9) with a rather malicious version of the propaganda in America, of which the translation is as follows:

"A little while after the death of Bahá there was in Egypt a Syrian Christian named Ibráhím Khayru'lláh who had been a friend of ours for twenty-five years. He was employed in translating and in business, and subsequently took to farming, but ill-luck accompanied him in all his

[1] As already mentioned, this book has been republished in smaller form in one volume this year (1917).

adventures. Latterly he became acquainted with Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ṭihrán, one of the leaders of the Bahá'í-Bábís in Egypt, and inclined to their belief. These two consulted frequently as to how they could best render service to their doctrine, and finally agreed that Ibráhím [Khayru'lláh] should go to New York and invite the people there to embrace the Bábí religion, on the understanding that Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím should defray the expenses of the journey. So Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím, having sought permission from 'Abbás Efendi, bestowed on him the money and provided him with the new teachings. So the man departed thither, and devoted himself to organizing the propaganda; for he was eloquent in speech and resolute of heart. And there inclined to him a certain rich old American lady, whom he inspired with the desire of visiting the tomb of Bahá and meeting 'Abbás Efendi at 'Akká. There her faith was confirmed and she gave a donation of £.500 to improve the tomb of Bahá[1]. On her return journey she visited Egypt, where she remained for some while, and where we made her acquaintance. Thence she journeyed to her country, and laboured with Ibráhím Khayru'lláh to spread the teachings of Bahá amongst the Americans, of whom a few inclined to her, for seldom does anyone advance any claim [there] without evoking an immediate response. And Ibráhím Khayru'lláh reckoned this acceptance on their part a piece of good luck to himself, and set to work to seek subsistence from them and to get money from them[2] by every imaginable title and pretext, while they were like wax in his hands[3]. And when he had collected and stored up about £.3000

[1] This would seem to have been in the latter half of 1898.

[2] I know of no foundation for this ill-natured assertion. Cf. p. 118 *supra*, ll. 7—3 from the bottom.

[3] Lit. "Like the corpse between the hands of the washer."

tidings of this new and profitable traffic reached Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím's ears, and he demanded his share from Khayru'lláh, who, however, refused to divide the spoil. Then Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím succeeded in obtaining from 'Abbás Efendi an order that he should go to America and dispute the accounts with Khayru'lláh. But when he reached New York, Ibráhím Khayru'lláh, hearing of thé dispute between 'Abbás Efendi and his brother [Muḥammad 'Alí], seized this fine opportunity to appropriate the money, declaring himself an adherent of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí and denouncing 'Abbás Efendi, whom he accused of apostasy from the new religion So he set to work to invite the people to accept Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, and dissensions arose amongst the Bábís, and there were sent from Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí to Ibráhím Khayru'lláh letters wherein he exposed the misdeeds of 'Abbás Efendi. Thus was the community divided into two parties, whereby the star of Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím's good fortune shone forth, since a number of the rich American Bábís went over to him, from whom he received several thousand pounds wherewith to strengthen 'Abbás Efendi's position. Having obtained this he returned to Cairo[1], where, having settled down comfortably, he suddenly manifested a distaste to the Bábí religion, denounced as misbelievers the Báb, Bahá and 'Abbás Efendi, and reverted to Islám. Then he and his son Muḥammad Ḥasan began to enumerate the vices of the Bábís and to declare their evil deeds, for he had been one of the leading Bábís, and was well acquainted with all which they revealed or concealed. So turmoil arose amongst the Bábís, and they were prodigal

[1] The *New York Herald* of Sunday, August 12, 1900, in the course of a long article on the Bahá'í propaganda in America and its success, states that 'Abdu'l-Karím had sailed for Europe a week previously, *i.e.* about August 5, 1900.

of all things, cheap or dear, if the man would but desist from reciting their vices, or at least be silent about them; but he only increased in violence. So, when they despaired of him, they gave out that he was mad. But he, together with his son, who is still living in Egypt, remained in the faith of Islám for a while, until he died lately, being about a hundred years old. And the apostasy of Ibráhím Khayru'lláh from 'Abbás Efendi, together with the return to Islám of Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Karím, was a heavy blow to the Bahá'ís.

"For some time 'Abbás Efendi bore with these alarming circumstances, until latterly he set himself to stir up the fanaticism of a man named Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, one of the leading Bábís in Egypt, and commissioned him to proceed to America to repair this rupture. The latter obediently accepted this commission, took with him as interpreter Ḥusayn Rúḥí the son of Ḥájji Mullá 'Ali of Tabríz, and went to America, where he remained some time[1]. At first he tried to bring back Ibráhím Khayru'lláh to Abbás Efendi, but, not succeeding in his efforts, he busied himself for a while in declaring and proving to his friends the sanctity of 'Abbás Efendi. But he failed to achieve his object, and returned to Egypt, where he was stricken with imbecility, and is at present under treatment in Egypt. Then 'Abbás Efendi sent Mírzá Asadu'lláh, 'Alí-qulí Khán, and Mírzá Abu'l-Faẓl [of Gulpáyagán][2], author of the two books entitled *ad-Durar u'l-Bahiyya* ("the Pearls of great price")[3]

[1] He was there, as we shall presently see, at the end of 1900.

[2] This seems to have been early in 1902, for the *North American* of Sunday, Feb. 16, 1902, contains a leader on the "astonishing spread of Bábism," with pictures of 'Abbás Efendi, Mírzá Abu'l-Faẓl, and Ḥájji Niyáz of Kirmán, with whom I was acquainted in Cairo in the early part of 1903. This article speaks of "hundreds converted to 'Abbás Efendi in Baltimore."

[3] Published at Cairo in 1318/1900: pp. 279.

and *al-Farâ'id* ("Rarities")[1], to Chicago to spread the Bábí propaganda. There they founded a garden which they called by a name ["Green Acre"] equivalent in meaning to *'Akká al-Khaḍrá*[2]. There they assemble at stated times to chant the "Tablets" (*Alwáḥ*) of Bahá and to mutter his sayings. No credence is to be attached to their pretence that they have converted several hundreds or thousands of the Americans, the truth being that which we have already mentioned in this book of ours after profound investigations and protracted enquiries.

"'Abbás Efendi desired to enhance his glory by means of the Americans and to fortify his religion by the protection of their Government, and he began to construct a temple surrounded by fortifications at Ḥayfá, which, as he announced, was for the Americans, and which he placed over the tomb which he had constructed for the Báb, and in which they suppose his bones to be, as has been already mentioned in its proper place. But his brother, Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, proceeded to inform His Majesty the Sulṭán of this, and an Imperial Rescript was issued ordering that the building should not be completed, and that the leaders of the Bábís exiled to 'Akká should be restrained[3] so that they should not quit its fortifications, whereas they had previously been wont to wander about in Syria as they pleased."

[1] Published at Cairo in 1315/1898: pp. 25+731.

[2] Green Acre (Eliot, York County, Maine) seems to have been founded by Miss Sarah Jane Farmer (who wrote me a long letter about it on May 14, 1901) in consequence of a dream which she dreamed in June, 1892.

[3] This restraint of the freedom of the Bahá'ís at 'Akká took place early in 1903, while I was in Egypt. They regained complete liberty after the Turkish Revolution in July, 1908. Miss E. Rosenberg, however, states at p. 11 of her *Brief Account of the Bahá'í Movement*, published in 1911, that 'Abbás Efendi's custody was made much more stringent in April, 1901.

As regards the total number of Bábís and Bahá'ís, different writers take the most widely divergent views, according to their predispositions. Lord Curzon, writing in 1892 and speaking only of Persia, says (*Persia*, vol. i, p. 499): "The lowest estimate places the present number of Bábís in Persia at half a million. I am disposed to think, from conversations with persons well qualified to judge, that the total is nearer one million...I hear that during the past year they are reported to have made 150 Jewish converts in Ṭihrán, 100 in Hamadán, 50 in Káshán, and 75 per cent. of the Jews in Gulpáyagán." On the other hand Dr Mírzá Muḥammad Mahdí Khán, whom we have just been quoting, puts the total number of Bábís of all sects at the absurdly low figure of 7200, *viz.* (1) *Kullu-Shay'ís*, or Old Bábís, who do not concern themselves with any developments subsequent to the martyrdom of the Báb in 1850, 200 souls in Persia[1]. (2) *Azalís* 2000 or a little over. (3) *Bahá'ís* of both factions (*i.e.* followers of 'Abbás Efendi, called by their opponents *Máriqín*, "Rebels" or "Apostates," and followers of Muḥammad 'Alí, called by their opponents *Náqiḍín*, or "Covenant-breakers"), 3000 in Persia and 2000 elsewhere. As regards the American Bahá'ís (Mr August J. Stenstrand is the only American Azalí I ever heard of), one of them, Mr A. P. Dodge, who paid me a visit at Cambridge on November 6, 1900, told me that Ibráhím Khayru'lláh, after three years' propaganda in Chicago, had made some hundred converts by 1896, but that latterly their numbers had greatly increased, and that at the time he spoke (1900) there were at least 3000, to wit, in Chicago about 1000; in New York about 300; in Kenosha (Wisconsin) 300 or 400; in Cincinnati 50 to 100; and a few more in Boston,

[1] According to the statement of Sayyid Muḥsin of Dahaj, which will be quoted later, their number was very much smaller.

Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, San Francisco (20 or 30) Detroit (Michigan), Newark (New Jersey) and Hoboken (New Jersey). Mr Stoyan Krstoff Vatralsky of Boston, Mass., in a remarkable attack on the Bahá'í religion published in the *American Journal of Theology* for January, 1902 (pp. 57—78), and entitled "Mohammedan Gnosticism in America: the Origin, Character, and Esoteric Doctrines of the Truth-Knowers," writes as follows (p. 58):

"Ibráhím Khayru'lláh, the propagandist of the sect, claims to have converted two thousand Americans in the space of two years. How far this boast is true I am unable in every particular to verify; but there is no room to doubt that the man has had incredible success. I have personally seen large, well-organized congregations of his converts both in Kenosha, Wis., and in Chicago. I have also reasons to believe their claims that similarly growing assemblies are holding their secret meetings in every large city of the United States. This is the more remarkable when we recall the fact that never before in the history of the world has a Mohammedan sect taken root among a Christian people without the aid of the sword. I believe it would not have happened to-day had it come bearing its own proper name, flying its own native colours. It has succeeded because, like a counterfeit coin, it has passed for what it is not. Most of the converts hardly realize what they have embraced, and whither they are drifting. I consider it a duty, therefore, to tell the American people what I know of this secret and mysterious sect, and what are its origin, character, and purposes."

Again he says (p. 69):

"It was from there ['Akká or Acre in Syria] that a missionary of the sect was sent to propagate the faith in this country, which seems to have proven a fruitful field.

According to Mullá Ibráhím G. Khayru'lláh, the Bábí-Bahá'í missionary to America, he converted no less than 2000 Americans during his first two years of labour. Of these about 700 were living in Chicago; between 250 and 300 in Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee; about 400 in New York; and the rest in Boston and other large cities. Lately it has been reported, I know not how truly, that there are now about 10,000 Bábís in the United States[1]. But as they are a secret cult, no outsider can know their exact number. The means for the propaganda are furnished, it is said, by a wealthy New York woman, a convert."

Amongst the literary curiosities which I possess are three American newspapers, containing accounts of the Bahá'í propaganda in the United States, which were sent to me by Dr Ignaz Goldziher of Buda-Pest.

The first is a copy of the *New York Herald* for Sunday, August 12, 1900. The front page is adorned with a picture of the "City of Acre," an old and atrociously bad portrait of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá; a *fac-simile* of an autograph letter of the Báb's; another *fac-simile* of part of the instructions written on the back of Bahá'u'lláh's Epistle to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh; and some fantastic friezes of ancient Persian soldiers. The head-lines are as follows: "These believe that Christ has returned to Earth."—"Strange Faith Has Attracted Many Followers, a large Number of Whom are in New York City."—"A New Gospel according to 'Abbás of Acre." The accompanying letter-press deals chiefly with the history and doctrines of the Bábís, and begins as follows:

"Is Christ living in the world to-day? There are tens of thousands of persons who believe that He is; that the Kingdom of Heaven has been established upon earth, and

[1] *The Advance*, Chicago, August 30, 1900.

SIXTH SECTION. **THE NORTH AMERICAN** SIXTH SECTION.

131ST YEAR PHILADELPHIA, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1902. 131ST YEAR

THE ASTONISHING SPREAD OF BABISM

Foretold His Own Death

Hundreds Converted to Abbas Effendi in Baltimore.

"I

They Hold That the Redeemer Prophesied Is Now Alive

To face p. 151.

that the prophecies of the Book of Revelation and the Koran are already in process of fulfilment. There are hundreds who claim to have looked upon the face and to have listened to the voice of the Divinity, and there are other hundreds who can exhibit personal letters said to have been transcribed by His own hand."

The article mentions that 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ṭihrán had sailed for the East from New York a week previously "after a visit to the Faithful in America," whose numbers are estimated at about two thousand, of whom those of New York are about a hundred, with their head-quarters at Carnegie Hall. "Chicago," the article concludes, "where the Rev. Ibráhím Khayru'lláh has been spreading the new faith, is another place where they have a number of members, and there is a considerable colony of Bábís at Wankegan, Wis."

The second is a copy of *The North American* (Philadelphia) of Sunday, February 16, 1902. The front page is headed "The Astonishing Spread of Bábism," and contains fairly good portraits of 'Abbás Efendi as a young man (head and shoulders only), and full-length tinted portraits of Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl of Gulpáyagán and Ḥájji Niyáz of Kirmán; also a picture of 'Akká from the sea, and a vignette of Colonel Nat Ward Fitzgerald, of Washington, who is described as "at present, perhaps, the leading native male expounder of the new faith in this country." The accompanying letterpress is headed "Hundreds converted to 'Abbás Efendi in Baltimore," and "They hold that the Redeemer prophesied is now alive," and begins with the statement of Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl of Gulpáyagán: "If we make the same percentage of converts throughout the country as we have made in Baltimore and Washington, within a year's time the Bábí faith will have two million adherents in the United States."

"Thus far," it observes further on, "but 30,000 followers of 'Abbás Efendi are claimed in America. But then no organized effort has been made until now to extend the faith." Mention is also made of "Mrs Loua M. Getsinger, of Washington, who has devoted much time to the study of comprehensive [? comparative] religions. For one year she took up her residence in the Acre domicile of the man who claims to be the second Christ, and daily had communion with him. When she left him, 'Abbás Efendi gave to her the name 'Maid Servant of the Lord.'"

The third is a copy of the *New York Times* of Sunday, December 18, 1904, of which p. 5, headed "Babist Propaganda making headway here," contains an interesting account of "A Sunday morning gathering of New York believers in this New Oriental Cult.—Impressive Spirit of Earnestness in Evidence.—History of the Religion and its present High Priest." The illustrations include a portrait of 'Abbás Efendi, "the Master at Acre: last photograph taken 30 years ago"; a picture of the "Tomb of the 'Báb,' near Acre"; and sketches of the meeting described and types of its American supporters. Thus we have "Mr Hoar opening with a prayer": "Reading a Tablet from the Master": "A Broadway Merchant": "A Family Group": and an elderly lady in spectacles labelled "Curiosity attracted her." The article accompanying these illustrations contains a full account of a Bahá'í meeting at 226, West Fifty-eighth Street, at "a demure brown-stone building...which is down on the city map as Genealogical Hall." The New Religion is described as having "within forty years illumined for 9,000,000 human beings the path which leads to Acre and to Him Who Lives There." The congregation, consisting of nearly two hundred men and women, is thus described. "Oriental silken garments swished sibilantly as a group of handsomely gowned

BABIST PROPAGANDA MAKING HEADWAY HERE

TOMB OF THE BAB: NEAR HOME
CURIOSITY ATTRACTED HER.
A BROADWAY MERCHANT
FAMILY GROUP
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J. C. Fireo...
MR. KOAR OPENING WITH A PRAYER.
RECEIVING A TABLET FROM THE MASTER.

A Sunday Morning Gathering of New York Believers in this New Oriental Cult—Impressive Spirit of Earnestness in Evidence History of the Religion and Its Present High Priest.

R

To face p. 152.

women entered the Tabernacle. Men of iron gray hair and steel gray eyes—thinkers and doers rather than dreamers —accompanied them with such other variations as merit another paragraph. Somewhat as follows was the tout ensemble." After a florid description of the room in which the meeting was held, the congregation is described as follows. "Who were the audience? Among them were a score of men who have business in the Wall Street district and on both Broadway and Fifth Avenue. They were solid men of affairs whose names figure frequently in the public prints, and whose fortunes run into many figures. As pillars of the Bábist cause in this city they have plenty of financial sinew to support the movement and Him Who Lives at Acre."

The chair having been taken by Mr William H. Hoar, of Fanwood, New Jersey, a hymn was sung, followed by an interval of silent meditation, which was brought to an end by an address from Miss Isabella Brittingham, recently returned from 'Akká, of which a pretty full report is given. At its conclusion the whole audience simultaneously ejaculated "*Alláhu Abhá*," "another hymn was intoned, and then everybody began talking." In conclusion the information is vouchsafed that a few days previously nine American pilgrims, including Mr Howard MacNutt, and shepherded by Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl of Gulpáyagán, had "started for Acre to acquaint the One Who Lives There with the amazing progress the cause is making in America. Up at 226 West Fifty-eighth Street it was vouchsafed that the soul of the late Colonel Ingersoll went to Acre."

I have not been able to fix exactly the date when Ibráhím Khayru'lláh definitively broke with 'Abbás Efendi and adhered to the faction of Muḥammad 'Alí, but it was probably soon after his return from 'Akká, for which he set out from America

in June 1898, and certainly before November, 1900, when he was reproached and threatened for his apostasy by Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, as described in the following remarkable statement, which is initialled by Ibráhím Khayru 'lláh, and was forwarded to me by him, together with other documents, in a letter written from Chicago on February 26, 1901.

"*Statement of the words of Mírzá Ḥasan Khurásání to me on November 30th, 1900.*

"'I came here especially to bring you back to your allegiance to 'Abbás Efendi, and am prepared to stay ten years if necessary. If you return to 'Abbás Efendi, I will cause the American believers to follow you as head in everything even better than heretofore. If you will not listen to me and become a follower of 'Abbás, your abode will be in the bowels of the earth. I come here because of pity for you, and to save you. If you will not listen, your life will be short. If 'Abbás Efendi should give me the word to cut you to pieces, or to tear your eyes out, or to kill you, I will do so at once. I fear not the consequences to myself. You know that I am from Khurásán, and that the sword of Khurásán is so powerful that if a blow is struck with it, it will cut from above the stars to the depth of the earth, and will cut even the fishes of the sea.'

"He then repeated to me the fate of Mírzá Yaḥyá of Jedda, and offered me a copy of the pamphlet published by himself entitled 'the Great Miracle of 'Abbás Efendi.' The above is the substance of what he said to me on Friday, November 30, 1900.

"On Saturday, December 1st, 1900, Mírzá Ḥasan-i-Khurásání again called in the company of Mírzá Asadu'lláh, and their interpreter Mírzá Ḥusayn [Rúḥí]. We all discussed

the difference of faith for about eight hours in the presence of my son-in-law Amír Háni Shiháb and his wife Mrs Shiháb (my daughter), also my daughter Labíba, and my son George Khayru'lláh M.D. During this discussion Mírzá Ḥasan-i-Khurásáni mentioned to those present that the day before, while talking to me alone, he had plainly told me the consequences of not acceding to their wishes. Upon this I repeated to all present the threatening words he had uttered the day before, and he acknowledged before all that he had said the words above reported by me.

"I. J. K."

Enclosed with this were translations of two letters and the original Arabic of a third written from 'Akká by one Maḥmúd, a partisan of Muḥammad 'Alí, to Ibráhím Khayru'lláh. The first two both seem to have been written at 'Akká on October 20, 1900, and received a month later by Khayru'lláh at Chicago. The shorter one is as follows:

"Lately, in this present week, three American ladies and a gentleman arrived by the regular steamer *viâ* Beyrout, and are stopping at the Kraft, a German hotel at Haifa. Up to the present time they have not spoken to any of the Unitarians[1], because they are prevented in the ways you know."

The longer letter, of which I have somewhat emended the style (which is clumsy and loaded with parentheses) runs as follows:

"HE IS AL-BAHIYYU'L-ABHÁ, GREAT IS HIS SPLENDOUR!

[Here follow the usual compliments, etc.]

"I have already informed you that some of the followers

[1] This is the name by which the followers of Muḥammad 'Alí call themselves (*Muwaḥḥidín*), while their opponents call them "Covenant-breakers" (*Náqizín*).

of 'Abbás Efendi, our opponents, have left here for America. One of them is Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Iṣfahán, of whose cunning and shrewdness of intrigue you cannot fail to be aware, and who is the brother-in-law and secretary of 'Abbás Efendi, and in all matters his most trusted and confidential agent. To no one else does 'Abbás reveal his hidden secrets, and these people are of the most unscrupulous, and will hesitate at nothing and fear no consequences, being resolved to accomplish their purpose and spread abroad their vicious principles, even by the shedding of blood and the destruction of lives by hidden methods and secret intrigues. This obliges me to explain to you a certain cruel deed which they accomplished not long since. It is one of their many deeds which inspire detestation and break the heart with horror.

"Now therefore I say that there was in the port of Jedda a certain man of the Unitarians named Mírzá Yaḥyá, who was the son-in-law of one Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn of Lár, the Persian Vice-Consul at Jedda, and a merchant noted for his wealth. As is well known to you, these people take great and exquisite pains to attract to themselves persons of wealth and influence. When, therefore, they discovered that Mírzá Yaḥyá openly confessed his faith, and that he was of the party of the true Unitarians, and was wont to discuss with his father-in-law the questions at issue and the differences between the two parties, they were afraid that in the future the words of the son-in-law would influence the father-in-law, to wit the Ḥájji above mentioned, and eventually be the cause of depriving them of his money and wealth. They were, moreover, convinced of the impossibility of bringing Mírzá Yaḥyá over to their faction.

"One of the followers of 'Abbás Efendi named Mírzá Manṣúr, who is now in India, was therefore commanded by his master to proceed at once to Jedda and there conspire

with the Ḥájji above mentioned for the destruction of Mírzá Yaḥyá. At that time the said Ḥájji was also at 'Akká, but whether the plot was concocted there or at Jedda I am unable to say. To be brief, one night Mírzá Manṣúr succeeded in administering to Mírzá Yaḥyá a poison which killed him at once. The subtlety of this plot lay in the perpetration of this horrid deed in such a city as Jedda[1].

"Before the conspiracy had accomplished its purpose, 'Abbás Efendi had written from 'Akká to one of his friends informing him that some such calamity would befall Mírzá Yaḥyá, and that he would be punished. Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán published in Cairo a pamphlet concerning this event and the 'Great miracle' wrought herein by 'Abbás Efendi. It is unnecessary to send you this lengthy pamphlet, our object being merely to make known to you the character of these peoples' intrigues. You must employ every needful precaution, for, should they be unsuccessful or disappointed in inducing you to return to their party, they will endeavour by every means and without scruple to injure you. Concerning what befel Mírzá Yáḥyá we have heard from certain persons who were at Jedda at the time that as he had no heirs, and as his father-in-law, the said Ḥájji, was of 'Abbás Efendi's party, and was also Persian Vice-Consul at Jedda, no one appeared to demand an enquiry into the causes of his death.

"I therefore entreat you carefully to avoid taking from the hands of these people any food, drink, or other thing, although we know that the Lord (Glory be to Him) is the Protector and Sustainer, and will without doubt protect His friends and shelter those who love Him, especially him who has displayed the greatest energy, and has fought so faithfully in preaching to the people the Manifestation of His Most Great Name *al-Abhá*.

[1] Where the crime would easily pass unnoticed, as, in fact, was the case.

"Mírzá Abu'l-Faẓl [of Gulpáyagán] and Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan [of Khurásán] and the others, while they were here recently, did not visit any of the Unitarians, neither the Blessed Branches (*Aghṣán*)[1] nor the others. They neither wrote nor spoke to them concerning the differences of faith, and some of them used even to avert their faces from them if they happened to pass each other in the street."

The translation of the last of Maḥmúd's letters, of which the Arabic text was communicated to me, is as follows:

"I inform you also of an event which happened in these days, which is that Ḥusayn the Confectioner (*Shakarjí*), who has a shop opposite to the Government House at Ḥayfá, as you will remember, died of poison on the eve of Saturday the 28th of Ramaẓán[2] in the house of His Holiness the Most Mighty Branch[3]. He was seen by the municipal doctor, who reported that he died of poison. This is as much as we have heard hitherto, but should we obtain more detailed information, we will, please God, communicate it to you.

"He who prays for you, Maḥmúd.—January 30th, 1901."

It is my good fortune to possess a copy of Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan-i-Khurásání's pamphlet above mentioned, which was sent to me on March 12, 1901, by Ibráhím Khayru'lláh. It contains only 27 pages measuring $5\frac{1}{5}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is entitled *Risála-i-Bushrá wa Áya-i-Kubrá* ("the Tract of Good Tidings and the Most Great Sign"), was printed at the Hindiyya Press in Egypt, and was completed on Rajab 9, 1316 (November 23, 1898). My copy is signed and sealed on the last page by the author, so that there is no doubt

[1] *i.e.* 'Abbás Efendi's three younger half-brothers, Muḥammad 'Alí, Badí'u'lláh, and Ẓiyá'u'lláh.

[2] The year of the *hijra* is not mentioned, but Jan. 19, 1901, appears to be the date indicated.

[3] *Al-Ghuṣnu'l-A'ẓam*, *i.e.* 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

about its authenticity. It opens with a brief doxology, in which 'Abbás Efendi is spoken of as "the Lord of the World and Goal of the Peoples, the Most Noble Mystery of God[1], the Most Mighty Branch of God and His Enduring Proof in the World," designated to succeed himself by Bahá'u'lláh since "God, great is His glory, arrived in the luminous city of 'Akká." Texts from the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* and from Bahá's Testament are cited in proof of this assertion, and the action of those who "broke the Covenant" (*i.e.* who sided with 'Abbás Efendi's half-brother, Muḥammad 'Alí) is deplored and denounced. "Our object at present," continues the author, "is not, however, to discuss these matters, which are not hidden or concealed from any one, but to gladden the Friends of God with good tidings of a wonderful event which happened in the city of Jedda, and of a clear sign and evident miracle from the writings of the holy pen of His Holiness 'Abdu'l-Bahá...(may the Life of the Worlds be a sacrifice to the dust of his footsteps!)." After this brief introduction, the author proceeds to describe as follows the life and death of Mírzá Yaḥyá of Iṣfahán, and the words of 'Abbás Efendi wherein that death was foreshadowed.

This Mírzá Yaḥyá was originally an Azalí, but in the year of Bahá'u'lláh's "Ascension" (*i.e.* death), 1892, he came to 'Akká, met 'Abbás Efendi, by whom he was very well received, and wrote a refutation of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal. After a while he departed to Jedda (the port of Mecca on the Red Sea), where he became intimate with a well-known Bahá'í named Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn of Lár, whose daughter he presently asked and received in marriage. When the dispute between 'Abbás Efendi and his half-brother Muḥammad 'Alí became acute, and the Bahá'í community was rent asunder by this schism, Mírzá Yaḥyá became the trusted agent and

[1] *Sirru'lláh*, one of the titles often given to 'Abbás Efendi.

fervent supporter of Muḥammad 'Alí, in whose favour he carried on an active propaganda. "It is a curious fact," observes the author, "that the 'Covenant-breakers' (*Náqiżín*) become the devoted admirers and faithful friends of every atheist, Azalí and Sophist, and of such as deny God's Holy Law and disobey His command, and are the kind friends and congenial intimates of every party except the true believers..., so that the truth of the tradition, 'Infidelity constitutes a single church'[1] might become apparent and manifest." So Yaḥyá grew ever bolder in his opposition to 'Abbás Efendi, "the Great Mystery of God, and the Branch derived from the Ancient Stock," until God's patience was exhausted and His Anger moved to destroy the offender, and a "Tablet" (*Lawḥ*) was sent by 'Abbás Efendi to Ḥájji Mullá Ḥusayn of Lár, of which a copy was forwarded to the author enclosed in a letter dated the 2nd of Jumádá 1, 1316 (= September 18, 1898). This "Tablet," which Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan read aloud at the time of its arrival to a circle of fellow-believers in Cairo, is of considerable length and partly in Arabic. The prophetic threats are contained in the later Persian portion, of which a translation is here appended.

"The glance of [Divine] Favour embraceth that friend, and all good is predestined in respect to him, but a great barrier hath intervened [between us and him], and a formidable obstacle hath appeared; and God controlleth [men's] secret thoughts. Praise be to God, during the Day of the Theophany that friend attained to the honour of meeting and secured the distinction of listening to the address. You will ultimately appreciate the worth of this Pearl of Great Price of the Divine Covenant. For unique Pearl was nourished in the embrace of the shell of

[1] *i.e.* all misbelievers have a natural sympathy for one another, and form, as it were, a coherent community.

the Most Glorious Kingdom (*Malakút-i-Abhá*) and included in the range of the Supreme Pen, and hath had no peer or like since the beginning of Creation. But certain children, having gathered together, have vainly thought to cast the Joseph of the Covenant into the Pit of Oblivion, and so themselves to become famous throughout the city and the market-place, and to sell this Precious Pearl for a few *dirhams*, and to endeavour to give currency to their own potsherds, heedless of the fact that the Beloved (*'Azíz*)[1] of the Divine Egypt hath come forth from the bottom of the pit in despite of every envious and obstinate foe, and by the Favour of the Most Splendid Beauty (*Jamál-i-Abhá*)[2] hath reached the zenith of the moon. Soon you will see that by the aid of the Most Glorious Kingdom (*Malakút-i-Abhá*) the Standard of the Promise will wave above the Pole of the Horizons, while the Lamp of the Covenant will shine so brightly through the glass of Contingent Being that the darknesses of the Violation of the Covenant will altogether disappear, and the cry of 'By God, verily God hath preferred Him over all mankind' will be heard. If a little consideration and reflection be exercised concerning past events, the truth of the matter will become plain and proved. Say, 'O Shaykh, this Covenant is the Light of the Horizons, and this is the Promise of God, not the plaything of children.' Say, 'So shall ye behold yourselves in manifest loss, while damage shall result and be evident, and injury shall shortly overthrow the edifice.' Say, 'The first hurt, please God, will be a warning to you, [making you reflect] what was the cause of this hurt and what the reason of this loss.' At all events do you observe with new and sharpened sight, so that you may

[1] This is the title commonly given to Joseph when he was made governor of Egypt.

[2] *i.e.* of Bahá'u'lláh.

find your way to the aims of these plotters and destroyers. Consider of whom it is said in the Qu'rán, '*They say with their tongues what is not in their hearts*[1].' Explain for them [the verse] '*And when they see those who believe, they say, "We believe"; but when they withdraw privily to their devils, they say, "We are only scoffers*[2]*!"*' Elucidate the meaning of, '*But God shall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety; they shall wander in confusion*[3].' Say to him who was alive and is soon to die[4]: 'Like the covenant-breakers[5] the children of Israel wrought for themselves Sámirí[6] and the [Golden] Calf. Was not Joshua the son of Nun divinely designated?' Thou didst err and make a grievous mistake when thou didst so vehemently belittle and contemn the divinely designated Centre [of Authority][7]. If the Eternal Beauty[8] should say to thee, 'How didst thou call the Centre of my Covenant, the Branch derived from my Ancient Stock, him who was explicitly designated in my Perspicuous Book, and the Expositor of that Book, "a

[1] *Qur'án*, xlviii, 11.

[2] *Ibid.* ii, 13.

[3] *Ibid.* ii, 14.

[4] There is a word play on the name *Yaḥyá*, which, connected with the root *ḥayy*, means "He liveth." He was *Yaḥyá'í*, but shall soon be *Yamútí*, "doomed to die."

[5] *Náqiẓín*, *i.e* the partisans of Muḥammad 'Alí.

[6] The maker of the Golden Calf is so named in the *Qur'án*. See xx, 87, 90, 96. The comparison of a false claimant of Divine or prophetic qualities to the Golden Calf, and of his aider, abettor and instigator to Sámirí, is common with the Bábís. In the Azalí *Hasht Bihisht* Bahá'u'lláh and his amanuensis, Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán, are made to play these *rôles*. See Vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 355 and n. 2 *ad calc.*

[7] Meaning 'Abbás Efendi, whom Mírzá Yaḥyá is accused of mocking and defying.

[8] *i.e.* Bahá'u'lláh.

[Golden] Calf?" what answer, O shameful Yaḥyá, wilt thou give? If thou would'st not render help, why scorn? If thou would'st not be the salve, why be the sore? Was not the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* revealed thirty years ago? Did I not summon all to obey the Derived Branch? Did I not direct all to submission, calling him the Expositor of the Perspicuous Book? Did I not awaken most of the Friends, and did I not dissociate him before all from what is beneath him? Did I not engage his Covenant and Compact in the writings of the Supreme Pen, and did I not in plain language command all the Branches (*Aghṣán*) and Twigs (*Afnán*)[1] and Kinsmen generally to have regard and look to him? What more could I do? How could I further strengthen the matter? O shameful Yaḥyá, how could'st thou deny this clear Light, or how could'st thou sanction so cruel a slander against this great Designate? What hurt had'st thou suffered at his hands that thou did'st desire for him such abasement, or what injury had'st thou experienced from him that thou did'st display such great hatred?' What answer wilt thou give? At all events, while it is yet time express regret, and manifest repentance and remorse, and bareheaded in the mountain and the desert cry out that ye be not touched, and pour forth from thine eyes like the Oxus-flood tears and blood, and become the associate of lamentation and remorse, that perchance the breeze of forgiveness may blow, the grossness of thy sin may decrease, the Ocean of Mercy may be stirred, and the Cloud of Pardon may pour forth its rain, so that this filth of Covenant-breaking may be removed. For if not, then expect the Divine Vengeance, and look for blackness of face[2] in both worlds. As God liveth,

[1] The sons of Bahá'u'lláh are called *Aghṣán* (sing. *Ghuṣn*), and the relatives of the Báb *Afnán*.

[2] *i.e.* disgrace.

verily humiliation shall flee from thee by reason of its abundance, and loss shall take refuge from thee with the All-Merciful, and thou shalt behold thyself in the lowest depths of Hell. For abasement, remorse and disgrace shall be the portion of those who violate the Covenant of the High, the Mighty."

('Abbás 'Abdu'l-Bahá) ع ع

The author, Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, next quotes the covering letter (or "Tablet") addressed to himself by 'Abbás Efendi, and dated ("contrary to what is customary") the 2nd of Jumádá II, 1316 (Sept. 18, 1898). The latter portion of this runs as follows:

"O Friend, you wrote about Yaḥyá, who supposed that 'Abdu'l-Bahá was heedless of his evil intentions and intrigues. Therefore a little while ago a letter was written to Jedda, of which a copy is enclosed. Read it, that thou may'st be assured that the clemency of 'Abdu'l-Bahá is great and his patience strong, but that, when the Command comes, he speaks and writes and cries, 'This is the Truth, and after the Truth is naught save error. O Friend, so proclaim the Covenant that the deaf ears of the [Covenant-]breakers may hear, and so shine in the Assembly of Constancy that the blind eyes of the perjured ones may see. And the Glory [*Bahá*] be upon every one who is steadfast in the Covenant of thy Lord the Mighty." ع ع

Not long after the receipt of this letter, which was read aloud to the faithful in Egypt, a letter dated the 27th of Jumádá I, 1316 (= October 13, 1898) was received from Ḥájji Mullá Ḥusayn of Lár from Jedda by Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán declaring that "God, mighty is His glory, had removed Yaḥyá, that incorrigible Covenant-breaker, and had opened before his face the Door of the fierce threats of the All-Glorious Lord, which are explicitly

mentioned in the Two Holy Tablets. The simoom of Divine Wrath blew, and the gale of Celestial Anger breathed, and his (Yaḥyá's) darkened spirit, fulfilled with envy and hatred, descended to the abyss of Hell." Here follows Ḥájji Mullá Ḥusayn of Lár's narrative of what took place, as communicated by him in a letter to Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán:

"Touching the Tablet which was vouchsafed from the Land of Heart's Desire[1], in truth if anyone should possess the eye of discernment, these same Blessed Words which were thus fulfilled are a very great miracle. But what profits it, since the discerning eye is lacking?

"I read the Tablet to Mírzá Yaḥyá, and he listened. I said: 'Assuredly thou sayest in thy heart, "I do not believe in the words thereof."' He answered, 'It is even so; I have no sort of belief either in him or his father[2].' I said, 'If that which hath issued from the Blessed Pen does not speedily overtake you, it were well that they should shave off my beard[3].' Then he rose up and departed to his own house.

"A few nights later towards the dawn one knocked at the door of my house. 'Who is it?' I cried. Then, seeing that it was a maid-servant, I added, 'What wilt thou?' She replied, 'Mírzá Yaḥyá is done for.' I at once ran thither. Ḥájji Muḥammad Báqir also was present. I saw that blood was flowing from his (Mírzá Yaḥyá's) throat, and that he was unable to move. By this time it was morning. I at once brought thither an Indian doctor. He examined him and said, 'A blood-vessel in his lung is ruptured. He must lie still for three days and not move, and then he will

[1] *Arẓ-i-Maqṣúd*, *i.e.* 'Akká.

[2] *i.e.* "either in 'Abbás Efendi or Bahá'u'lláh."

[3] *i.e.* subject me to any disgrace.

recover.' He then gave him some medicine. The haemorrhage stopped for two days, and his condition improved. In spite of this he was not admonished to return to the Truth. After two days there was a second flow of blood from his throat, and he was nearly finished. The doctor came again and gave him medicine, but ultimately it profited him nothing. Twice again he vomited undiluted blood, and then surrendered his spirit to the Angel of Torment.

"This event was in truth a warning to all beholders, that is to say to such as see and read this Tablet. Please God you have read it in its entirety and found your way to the meaning thereof. One individual hath He thus swiftly removed. Assuredly hereafter the Lord will accomplish every promise which He hath uttered. I take refuge with God from the wrath of God! I seek from the Truth that He will aid us to stand firm in His Covenant and Compact! In a little while the Covenant-breakers will be overtaken by calamities such that they shall flee bare-headed to the mountains and deserts, but shall find there no way of escape."

The author, Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, here observes that never in any previous dispensation was so clear a threat followed by so swift and condign a punishment, or so explicit a prophecy so speedily accomplished. For, says he, though God's patience is almost inexhaustible, there comes an end to it, especially in the case of such apostates, who sin against the Light, and who do far more harm to the cause than the theologians, jurisconsults and rulers who ignorantly oppose and oppress it. He then quotes another Tablet which was sent to him by 'Abbás Efendi after the death of Mírzá Yaḥyá, and which runs thus:

"Write to Mullá Ḥusayn of Lár that these were the circumstances connected with Yaḥyá the shameless, to wit that he wrote a letter to the leading Covenant-breakers, and

made use of a very vile expression concerning the Centre of the Covenant[1] such as none, not even the lowest, would utter; to wit, an expression which was to the leading Covenant-breakers as a floral festival, a joy, and the cause of boundless delight [causing them to say] 'Praise be to God because such souls have appeared who dare to belittle so ignominiously the Pole-star of the Covenant!' Therefore was the threat of vengeance and the imminence of the thunderbolt of destruction thus explicitly given; for assuredly the Framer of the Covenant and the Protector of the Compact will vindicate the Centre of the Covenant. These are isolated events; with these same outward eyes it will be seen in what abasement and disgrace, and in what calamities, afflictions and chastisements the 'quakers[2]' shall be overwhelmed. Say, 'Wait until God shall accomplish His purpose, O Company of Shame, O Faction of Rebellion, and ye shall see yourselves in the lowest of Hell-fires!' Upon thee be the Splendour[3]!"

Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán concludes his pamphlet by promising further details concerning the schism, the obstinacy of 'Abbás Efendi's half-brothers, the "boldness and discourtesy" of Mírzá Áqá Ján, and other kindred matters, and, as already noted, dates the completion of his work the 9th of Rajab, 1316 (November 23, 1898).

One fact which is very clearly brought out by this pamphlet is that the detestation in which the followers of 'Abbás Efendi hold the rival faction of his half-brother Muḥammad 'Alí equals, if it does not exceed, that in which

[1] *i.e.* 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

[2] This is the literal meaning of *Mutazalzilín*, a term here used as equivalent to *Náqizín*, "Covenant-breakers."

[3] *'Alayka'l-Bahá*, the Bahá'í equivalent of the Muslim *'alayka's-salám!*

the Bahá'ís generally hold the Azalís, and far surpasses the dislike entertained by any of these three parties for the adherents of other creeds which stand entirely outside the Bábí-Bahá'í circle. This phenomenon, however, is not peculiar to Bábíism. At all events this second schism amongst the Bábí community, which began almost immediately after Bahá'u'lláh's death in 1892 and culminated (as will be subsequently explained in fuller detail) in 1895, was singularly fierce and bitter, and in due course naturally extended to the American Bahá'ís. Ibráhím Khayru'lláh's secession from 'Abbás Efendi seems to have begun soon after his return from 'Akká (about the end of 1898), and, as we have seen, at the end of November, 1900, the fanatical Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan (the author of the pamphlet just analysed) was threatening him in Chicago for his apostasy. The great majority of the American Bahá'ís adhered to the party of 'Abbás Efendi, who had established there as elsewhere a great personal ascendancy which his half-brother Muḥammad 'Alí completely failed to rival, though one at least of his adherents, Mírzá Ghulámu'lláh, the son of Mírzá Muḥammad Jawád of Qazwín, author of the life of Bahá'u'lláh translated in the first section of this volume, visited America to promote his Master's interests and press his claims[1]. In 1901 we find Ibráhím Khayru'lláh defending his position against the American followers of 'Abbás Efendi in two tracts entitled respectively *Facts for Bahá'ists* (Chicago, 1901), and *The Three Questions* (undated, but published subsequently to April, 1901). The former is prefaced by the following "Statement of the House of Justice of the Society of Bahá'ists to all the followers of Bahá'u'lláh":

"The time has come to publish some of the numerous

[1] He was in New York in March 1901, and in Chicago in the following month, and visited me in Cambridge on his way to America.

facts which have been obtained through a very careful and strict investigation concerning the differences existing between the eldest son of Bahá'u'lláh [*i.e.* 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá] and his younger brothers.

"For the sake of Truth and Justice we urge every believer to read carefully the contents of this pamphlet, and judge for himself which of the two parties is following the teachings of the Father and obeying His Commandments.

"It is intended gradually to publish the many facts in our possession, and they are open at any time to those who wish to investigate them."

"The Three Questions" answered by Khayru'lláh in his second pamphlet are as follows:

(1) "Why have some followers of Bahá'u'lláh and yourself rejected 'Abbás Efendi, the Greatest Branch, and his teachings?

(2) "Did you receive the instructions you gave in America from Bahá'u'lláh in person, or from 'Abdu'l-Karím of Cairo, Egypt?

(3) "Why did you not denounce 'Abbás Efendi upon your return from 'Akká?"

From the answer to the second question it appears (p. 23) that 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ṭihrán, by whom Khayru'lláh was first converted to the Bahá'í faith, and who, as we have seen, visited America in the summer of 1900, told Khayru'lláh, in the presence of some believers, that if he returned to 'Abbás Efendi he was right and all he taught was right; but that if not he was wrong, and all he taught was wrong. "Besides this," says Khayru'lláh, "he promised me plenty of money, and when I refused he renounced me and all that I taught, and prohibited the believers from reading or buying my work *Behá'u'lláh*."

From the answer to the third question we learn that it was not until nearly seven months after Khayru'lláh's return to America that he definitely repudiated 'Abbás Efendi and espoused the cause of Muḥammad 'Alí and the younger brothers. This event must have taken place in the year 1899.

'Abbás Efendi, as soon as Khayru'lláh's defection was known, seems to have taken vigorous steps to destroy his supremacy and influence in America. 'Abdu'l-Karím was sent to America for this purpose in 1900. At the end of the same year, as we have seen, another ardent partisan of 'Abbás Efendi, to wit Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan of Khurásán, was in America, not only remonstrating with but threatening Khayru'lláh. A little later Mírzá Asadu'lláh, a vehement partisan of 'Abbás Efendi, founded the "House of Spirituality" in Chicago. About the end of 1901 or beginning of 1902 his son, Mírzá Faríd Amín, a lad of about twenty, who had graduated with honours in English, succeeded and aided his father as the recognized translator into English of the Bahá'í writings in Arabic and Persian.

Early in 1902 we find two more prominent Bahá'ís, both adherents of Abbás Efendi, to wit the learned and indefatigable Mírzá Abu'l-Faẓl of Gulpáyagán (whose propagandist activities were also displayed at 'Ishqábád, or Askabad, in Russian Turkistán and in Egypt) and the amiable old Ḥajji Niyáz of Kirmán (with whom I was acquainted in Cairo in the early part of 1903) carrying on an active propaganda in America. The former, unless he paid two visits to America, must have remained there nearly three years, for he sailed thence for 'Akká with nine American pilgrims, including Mr Howard MacNutt (formerly associated with Khayru'lláh in the publication of his book *Behá'u'lláh*) in December, 1904.

The last news I had of Ibráhím Khayru'lláh was in a letter from Chicago dated April 4, 1917, in which he wrote:

"The Bahá'í movement in America became slow and dull since the sad dissension reached the West nineteen years ago [*i.e.* in 1898]. I thought then that to call the people to this Great Truth was equivalent to inviting them into a quarrel. But the visit of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá to this country, his false teachings, his misrepresentations of Bahá'ísm, his dissimulation, and the knowledge that his end is nigh, aroused me to rise up for helping the work of God, declaring the Truth, and refuting the false attacks of theologians and missionaries. Now I am struggling hard to vivify the Cause of God after its having received by the visit of 'Abbás Efendi a death-blow."

III

FURTHER NOTES ON BÁBÍ, AZALÍ AND BAHÁ'Í LITERATURE, ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL, PRINTED, LITHOGRAPHED AND MANUSCRIPT

The following notes make no claim to completeness, and are confined, so far as printed and lithographed works are concerned, to books in my own possession not already mentioned in the Bibliography contained in Vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 173—211, which comes down only to 1889. Only in the case of manuscripts I shall supplement the *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts* which I published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1892 (pp. 433—499 and 637—710) not only by a description of manuscripts which I have obtained since that date, but of some of those acquired by the British Museum (mostly from Riẓwán 'Alí the son of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal) and still uncatalogued. Rather more than 50 of these (whose class-marks range from **Or. 5080** to **Or. 6887**) were examined by my friend and former colleague Dr Aḥmad Khán, on whose notes, which he kindly made over to me, I shall base my observations.

I. Printed Works in European Languages.

(1) Andreas, Dr F. C.: *Die Babis in Persien* (Leipzig, 1896; p. 68). A slight and popular work, containing few references to the authorities used, and adding little if any thing to our knowledge. It begins with a Preface by Pastor

W. Faber and ends with a short account by the same of the celebrated Sayyid (or Shaykh) Jamálu'd-Dín al-Afghán[1].

(2) Atrpet (Sargis Mubagajian, an Armenian of Alexandropol) is the author of several works on Persia in Russian and Armenian. The former include one on *Muḥammad 'Alí Sháh* (Мамедъ-Али Шахъ); *The National Movement in the Land of the Lion and the Sun* (Народное движеніе въ странѣ лева и солнца), Shirak Press, Alexandropol, 1909: pp. 129; one on *Raḥím Khán* (Рахимъ Ханъ), which I do not possess; and one entitled *Imámat: the Country of the Worshippers of the Imáms* (*Persian clergy*) (Имаматъ: страна поклонниковъ имамовъ (персидское духовенство), Alexandropol, 1909: pp. 208, of which the second part, entitled Бабиты и Бехаиты (*Bábís and Bahá'ís*) occupies pp. 87—208. The latter include works on the *Imámat; Chastisements in the Life of Persia* (a novel); *Khiláfat* ("the Caliphate"); Turkish historical investigations; and other books.

The treatise on *Bábís and Bahá'ís*, with which alone we are here concerned, is illustrated with some remarkable portraits and pictures (I know not how far authentic), including three of the Báb (one suspended for execution); one of Muḥammad Sháh's Prime Minister, Ḥájji Mírzá Ághási; one of Muḥammad Sháh; two of the Bábí heroine and warrior "Rustam-'Alí" of Zanján, armed with shield, sword and spear; one of the public degradation at Shíráz of one of the Báb's disciples and propagandists, who, with half his beard and moustache shaved off, is mounted on an ass with his face to the tail; one of Ḥájji Sulaymán Khán, almost naked and with lighted candles inserted in numerous wounds in his body, being led to the place of execution; two of

[1] A full account of this remarkable man is given in Chapter I of my *Persian Revolution*.

۱	بسم ربانی	۱
vol I.		جلد اول
No. 8	برحسب تاریخ بهائی	شمارهٔ ۸
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داشته صاحبان هوش و گوش نفوذ و سوخ امر الهی را در آفاق شرق و غرب
احساس نمایند و قوت و عظمت کلمهٔ مرکز میثاق حضرت عبد البهاء را در
تسخیر ممالک قلوب مشاهده نمایند . هر روزی از هر گوشه آوازی
شنیده میشود جان میرسد و هر ساعتی نشهٔ روح بخش شور و ولع عطا نماید.

BAHAI NEWS

Vol. 1 **Chicago, (Aug. 1, 1910) Isma** No. 8

WORDS OF ABDUL-BAHA

From notes taken at Haifa, Syria, by Mirza Moneer Zain, during the recent visit of Mr. Charles Mason Remey and Mr. Howard C. Struven.

PHOTOGRAPH OF BELIEVERS ASSEMBLED AT THE TOMB OF THE BAB, MOUNT CARMEL, SYRIA, MAY 15, 1910.

In the centre of the group, marked with an X, is the aged Afnan, who supervised the building of the Mashrak-el-Azkar in Ishkabad, Russia. As soon as it was finished he was called to Acca by Abdul-Baha to remain the balance of his days.

The following letter from Mr. Remey to the BAHAI NEWS makes a fitting introduction to the notes which follow:

To the Editors of the BAHAI NEWS:

Mirza Moneer Zain has sent me notes taken in Persian and then translated, from four of Abdul-Baha's talks given while Mr. Struven and I were in Haifa.

Qurratu'l-'Ayn, one expounding the Scriptures and one just before her execution; one of Bahá'u'lláh; and one of a Bábí being blown from the mouth of a cannon. My ignorance of Russian prevents me from forming an estimate of the value of the letter-press.

(3) *Bahá'í News*, a periodical publication, appearing every nineteen days, partly in English, partly in Persian (the latter part lithographed), produced at Chicago. The Persian part is entitled *Payámbar-i-Bákhtar* (پیامبر باختر), "the Prophet of the West." The earliest issue which I possess is that of August 1, 1910, which is described as Vol. 1, No. 8. This number contains in all 25 pages, of which 18 are in English, and measures only 15 × 7·5 centimetres. In the following year the title of the paper was changed to *Najm-i-Bákhtar* (نجم باختر), "the Star of the West." See No. 37 (p. 185), *infra*, and also my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 59 and 147 (articles 96 and 349).

(4) Balteau, M. J.: *Le Babysme: Lecture faite par M. J. B....à la Séance du 22 Mai*, 1896. Académie Nationale de Reims, Reims, 1897: pp. 28.

This is also a slight and popular *résumé* of familiar facts, and was written at the time of the assassination of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh, which was at first believed to be the work of a Bábí: a belief which the author (p. 15) appears to share. For the rest, the author "admits without much shame that there are important points on which he is very badly informed."

(5) Barney, Laura Clifford (now Madame H. Dreyfus):

النور الابهى فى مفاوضات عبد البهآء

This book contains the original Persian text of the "Table Talks" of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá collected by

Miss Laura Clifford Barney. It comprises 236 pp, and was printed by Messrs Brill of Leyden and published by Messrs Kegan Paul, London, in 1908.

(6) The same publishers produced simultaneously an English version entitled *Some answered questions, collected and translated from the Persian by Laura Clifford Barney* (pp. xiv + 344).

(7) A French version entitled *'Abd-oul-Béha: Les Leçons de St Jean d'Acre, recueillies par Laura Clifford Barney: traduit du persan par Hippolyte Dreyfus*, was published in the same year (1908) by Ernest Leroux of Paris. This comprises pp. 416.

(8) Barney, Laura Clifford: *God's Heroes:* a Bábí drama, with Qurratu'l-'Ayn for the heroine, sumptuously printed and illuminated in the margins. Published by Kegan Paul, London, and Lippincott, Philadelphia, in 1910: pp. 108 + xii.

(9) Brittingham, Isabella D.: *The Revelation of Bahá'u 'lláh, in a sequence of four lessons, compiled by I. D. B.* Chicago, 1902: pp. 32.

(10) Dawud, Johanna: *Mysterious Forces of Civilization, written in Persian by an eminent Bahá'í philosopher, and now first put into English by J. D.* Published by Cope and Fenwick, London, in 1910: pp. 242.

(The original Persian entitled

كتاب اسرار الغيبيّه لاسباب المدنيّه

was lithographed at Bombay in 1310/1892–3, and contains 154 pp.)

(11) Dodge, Arthur Pilsbury: *Whence? Why? Whither? Man! Things! Other Things!* Published by the Ariel Press, Westwood, Massachusetts, in 1907: pp. 269.

(12) Dreyfus, Hippolyte: *Le Livre de la Certitude (Kitab-el-Ikan), un des Livres Sacrés du Bahaïsme, traduit du persan par Hippolyte Dreyfus et Mirza Habibullah Chirazi.* Published by Leroux of Paris in the *Bibliothèque Orientale Elzévirienne* in 1904: pp. vii + 213.

Concerning the *Íqán* ("Certitude"), one of the best-known Bábí controversial works composed in 1274/1858–9 in Baghdad by Bahá'u'lláh before he publicly put forward his claim to be "He whom God shall manifest," see my *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts, J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 435—8, and the references there given.

(13) Dreyfus, Hippolyte: *The Universal Religion: Bahá'ism, its Rise and Import.* Cope and Fenwick, London, 1909: pp. 175.

(14) Dreyfus, Hippolyte: *Essai sur le Béhaïsme: son histoire, sa portée sociale.* Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1909: pp. 138.

(15) Dreyfus, Hippolyte: *L'Épître au Fils du Loup par Bahâoullâh, traduction française.* Champion, Paris, 1913: pp. 185.

This is a translation of a letter, or rather an admonition, addressed by Bahá'u'lláh towards the end of his life (between 1889 and 1892) to the notorious *Mujtahid* of Iṣfahán, Áqá-yi-Najafí, the son of Shaykh Báqir of Iṣfahán, an implacable persecutor of the Bábís. Incidentally it deals at some length with the Azalí controversy.

(16) Hammond, Eric: *The Splendour of God, being extracts from the Sacred Writings of the Bahá'ís, with Introduction by E. H.* Published in the *Wisdom of the East Series* by Murray, London, in 1909: pp. 124. (A very slight work.)

(17) Holbach, Maude M.: *The Bahá'í Movement, with*

some recollections of meetings with 'Abdu'l-Bahá. (From the *Nineteenth Century and After* for February, 1915, pp. 452—466.) Mrs Holbach seems to have met 'Abbás Efendi in America in the autumn of 1912 and again in Paris on May 23, 1914. Other dates of his journeys in Europe given are London and Paris in the autumn of 1911; Budapest (where he met Vámbéry) in April, 1913; Stuttgart, Vienna and Budapest in the summer of 1914. "In Germany," writes Mrs Holbach, "the Bahá'í literature is being translated, and there are Bahá'ís at Munich and Leipzig as well as at Stuttgart and Esslingen, but the movement is comparatively new, and the number of its adherents proportionately small, though drawn from the most thoughtful classes of the community."

(18) Khayru'lláh, Ibráhím George: *Báb-ed-Dín, the Door of true Religion: (1) Za-ti-et Allah: (2) El-Fida. Revelation from the East: rational argument by I. G. Khayru'lláh.* Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1897: pp. 84. Portrait of the author as frontispiece.

(19) Khayru'lláh, Ibráhím George, assisted by Howard MacNutt: *Behá'u'llah* ("*the Glory of God*"). The work comprises two volumes with continuous pagination, pp. xiv + 545, Vol. ii beginning with p. 307, and several portraits and illustrations, including 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá and his three half-brothers. Published at Chicago on January 1, 1900[1].

(20) Khayru'lláh, Ibráhím George: *Facts for Behaists, translated and edited by I. G. Kh.* Chicago, 1901: pp. 64.

(21) Khayru'lláh, Ibráhím George: *The Three Questions.* Pp. 26 + 15 of Arabic quotations. No date or place

[1] A second smaller edition of this work in one volume has been published recently (Chicago, 1917).

of publication is mentioned, but the tract was evidently written later than April, 1901. It and the previously mentioned tract have been already noticed (p. 168 *supra*).

(22) Khayru'lláh, Ibráhím George: *O Christians! Why do ye believe not in Christ?* U.S.A. (?Chicago), 1917: pp. 192. The purpose of this book, the most recent product of the author's fertile pen, is, as he states, "to prove to the whole world the infallibility of Bahá'u'lláh, and that the attacks of S. G. Wilson, D.D. (see No. 48, p. 188 *infra*), and those of H. H. Jessup, D.D., and Robert P. Richardson against Him and His teachings are not true." It is dedicated to Muḥammad 'Alí, the half-brother and rival for supremacy of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and comprises twelve chapters, the last (pp. 165–192) being an autobiography of the author I. G. Khayru'lláh. This is the most interesting part of the work; but the outspoken defence of polygamy (pp. 77–86) and of the assassination of Azalís by Bahá'ís (pp. 58–62), which is described as "proving the veracity of Bahá'ism and Christianity," merit careful attention, even though they be little calculated to further the author's aims.

(23) Мамонтовъ, Н. П.: Очерки современной Персіи ("Sketches of Modern Persia"). This book deals chiefly with the Persian Revolution and Constitution, and contains a good many interesting illustrations and portraits. St Petersburg, 1909: pp. 206.

(24) Nicolas, A.-L.-M.: *Le Livre des Sept Preuves, traduction de M. A.-L.-M.-N.* Paris, Maisonneuve, 1902: pp. 68. A French translation of the Báb's *Dalá'il-i-Sab'a* (دلائل سبعه). See my *Cat. and Descr. of* 27 *Bábí MSS.* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 447). There is another MS. of the original (**Or. 5109**) in the British Museum.

(25) Nicolas, A.-L.-M.: *Séyyèd Ali Mohammed dit le*

Báb. Paris, Dujarric, 1905: pp. 458. This valuable and scholarly book, which contains a great deal of new material critically treated, comprises a lengthy Introduction (*Avant-propos*), pp. 1—71; three chapters on Persian or Shí'ite Islám, pp. 75—188; and twelve chapters on the history of the Báb, of whom a traditional portrait (*d'après un portrait à l'aquarelle*) forms the frontispiece of the volume, pp. 189—452. The historical narrative is extended beyond the Báb's execution in 1850 to the great persecution of the Bábís and the martyrdom of Qurratu'l-'Ayn in 1852.

(26) Nicolas, A.-L.-M.: *Le Béyân Arabe, le Livre Sacré du Bâbysme de Séyyèd Ali Mohammed dit le Bâb, traduit de l'Arabe.* E. Leroux, *Bibliothèque Orientale Elzévirienne*, Paris, 1905: pp. 235.

(27) Nicolas, A.-L.-M.: *Essai sur le Chéikhisme. I. Chéikh Ahmed Lahçahí.* Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1910: pp. 72. Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í, the founder of the Shaykhí School which gave birth to the Bábís, was born in 1166/1753 and died on June 28, 1826. This pamphlet gives an account of his life and doctrines, and concludes with a list of 96 of his works.

(28) The *Orient-Occident Unity* (انجمن ارتباط شرق و غرب). See next entry, under *Persian-American Educational Society.*

(29) *Persian-American Educational Society, Bulletin of the* (انجمن تربیتی ایران و آمریك), *to be succeeded by the Orient-Occident Unity Bulletin.* Vol. i, No. 1 of the *Bulletin*, dated October, 1911, contains a statement of the principles of the Society, an account of its history and progress, and a portrait of the Secretary, Joseph S. Hannen. The inception of the idea of the Society took place at a meeting held at Washington, D.C., on October 30, 1909, and it was formally

inaugurated on January 8, 1910, when Mr Charles Russell, then just appointed United States Minister to Persia, was present. Amongst the Persian workers were Mírzá Aḥmad Suhráb and Qudsiyya ("Ghodsia") Khánim, "the first young woman of Persia to come to the United States for the purpose of completing her education." Mr Sydney Sprague, an active and well-known American Bahá'í, who founded the *Tarbiyat* School at Ṭihrán, seems to have been one of the chief promoters of this interesting and philanthropic movement. The only other number of the *Bulletin* which I possess (Vol. i, No. 5) is dated February [1912], and contains a portrait of Mírzá Aḥmad Suhráb, here described as the "Founder and Treasurer of the Persian-American Educational Society." It also contains an account of the arrival from Persia of Mr W. Morgan Shuster and of the mass-meeting which he addressed in Carnegie Hall after his return from Persia on March 1, 1912, as well as an announcement that 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá would address the P.-A. E. S. Conference in Washington on April 18, 19 and 20, 1912. I also possess the Annual Report of the Conference of the P.-A. E. S. held at Washington, D.C., on June 16–17, 1911. Of the *Orient-Occident Unity Bulletin* I possess only one number (Vol. i. No. 8), dated May–June, 1912. This contains a portrait of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and an account of the addresses delivered by him at the Conference at Washington on April 20, 1912, and on other subsequent occasions.

(30) Phelps, Myron H.: *Life and Teachings of 'Abbás Efendi: a Study of the Religion of the Bábís or Bahá'ís, founded by the Persian Báb and by his Successors, Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abbás Efendi, with an Introduction by Edward G. Browne.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1903: pp. xliii + 259.

(31) Remey, Charles Mason: *The Bahá'í Movement for Universal Religion, Brotherhood and Peace: a Sketch of its History and Teaching.* Washington, March, 1912: pp. 15.

(32) Roemer, Hermann: *Die Bābī-Behā'ī: eine Studie zur Religionsgeschichte des Islams.* Potsdam, 1911: pp. 193. This book, the author's Inaugural Dissertation for the Doctorate in Higher Philosophy in Tübingen, contains an excellent, critical and comprehensive account of the Bábí-Bahá'í movement from the beginning of the Báb's mission down to the date of composition. The accounts of the recent Bahá'í propaganda in the West (America, France, England, Germany and Hungary) and in the further East (India, Burma), and of the attitude of the Bahá'ís in Persia towards the Constitutional Movement (pp. 148—160) are very interesting, and all sources of information have been thoroughly used.

(33) Rosen, Baron Victor. The earlier notices of Bábí MSS., published by this scholar in the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales de St Pétersbourg* (Vol. i, *Manuscrits Arabes*, 1877; Vol. iii, *Manuscrits Persans*, 1886; and Vol. vi, pp. 141—255, 1890), are briefly noticed in the Notes appended to Vol. ii of my edition and translation of the *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 208—211. In 1908 Baron Rosen published a collection of Bahá'í *Alwáḥ* (or "Tablets") in the Historico-Philological Section of the Imperial Academy of St Petersburg, entitled:

Первый Сборникъ Посланій Бабида Беһáуллаха, or:—

المجموع الأوّل من رسائل الشيخ البابى بهاء الله و قد اعتنى بتصحيحه و طبعه العبد الفقير المفتقر الى رحمة ربّه بارون ويكتور روزن

The volume contains pp. viii + 186.

(34) Rosenberg, Miss Ethel J.: *A brief Account of the Bahá'í Movement.* Priory Press, London, 1911: pp. 29.

(35) Scatcherd, Felicia F. ("Felix Rudolph"): *A Wise Man from the East.* Lewis and Co., London, n.d., reprinted from the *International Psychic Gazette*: pp. 8. This pamphlet contains the authoress's personal impressions of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, whom she first met in London in the spring of 1911, and again in Alexandria in January, 1912.

(36) Skrine, Francis Henry: *Bahá'ism, the Religion of Brotherhood, and its place in the Evolution of Creeds*, with portrait of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Longmans, Green and Co., London, ? 1912: pp. 72.

(37) *Najm-i-Bákhtar* (نجم باختر), "the Star of the West" (see No. 3, p. 177, *supra*, s.v. *Bahá'í News*). Of this publication I possess several numbers of the second year, *viz.* No. 1 (March 21, 1911); No. 2 (April 9, 1911); No. 3 (April 28, 1911); No. 4 (May 17, 1911); No. 5 (June 5, 1911); Nos 7 and 8 (August 1, 1911); No. 14 (Nov. 23, 1911); No. 15 (Dec. 12, 1911); and No. 16 (Dec. 31, 1911). In the last three numbers the Persian part has entirely disappeared. No. 14 contains an excellent portrait of 'Abdu'l-Bahá ('Abbás Efendi) taken in Paris during one of his recent visits to that city.

(38) Sacy, Gabriel: *Du Règne de Dieu et de l'Agneau connu sous le nom de Babysme: se trouve chez l'Auteur au Caire.* Privately printed at Cairo, and dated at the end June 12, 1902. Comprises 35 pages.

This curious little pamphlet was given to me in Cairo by the author a few days before his death, which took place very suddenly and unexpectedly on the Persian *Naw-rúz* and first day of the Bábí year, March 21, 1903. He was a Syrian Christian who had become a fervent Bahá'í with a

very remarkable faculty for interpreting the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments, especially those of the Books of Daniel and Revelation, in support of the Bábí and Bahá'í claims. To this topic the present treatise, which shows remarkable ingenuity, is entirely devoted. I remember his calling my attention to the fact that while in the older Arabic versions of the New Testament the words "the glory of God" in Revelation xxi, 23, are rendered by *Bahá'u'lláh* (بهاء الله), in the later version published at Beyrout in 1882 this expression had (purposely, he declared, to darken men's understanding) been replaced by *Majdu'lláh* (مجد الله).

On the day of his death both he and I were entertained to lunch by a wealthy Persian Bahá'í merchant of Cairo, and all the afternoon he argued vehemently in support of that faith. I departed about seven o'clock in the evening, leaving him there. The next I heard of him was when, on returning to my hotel next afternoon about 4 p.m. I found awaiting me a black-edged card inviting me to his funeral, which had already taken place when I received it. He left a widow (French by nationality) and two little children.

(39) Stenstrand, August J.: *A Call of Attention to the Baháists or Babists of America.* Naperville, U.S.A., Feb. 13, 1907 : pp. 36. A plea for Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's claim to be regarded as the Supreme Head of the Bábís.

(40) Stenstrand, August J.: *A Key to the Heaven of the Bayán, or a third call of Attention to the Baháists or Bábists of America.* Chicago, Jan. 6, 1911 : pp. 34. (There must evidently be a "second Call of Attention" which I do not possess, and at the beginning of April, 1917, I received a "fourth Call of Attention," a little sheet comprising four printed pages.)

(41) Stenstrand, August J.: *An Open Letter to the Bábí World, or an Answer to a Letter of one of my Bahá'í Friends.* (A single sheet, printed on both sides, at Chicago, Jan. 6, 1911.)

(42) Туманскій, А.: Послѣднее Слово Беха́-Уллы (كتاب عهدى), and Посланіе „Благія Вѣсти" (لوح بشارات), from the *Zapiski* of the Russian Oriental Society, Vol. vii, pp. 183—192 and 193—203. St Petersburg, 1892: pp. 11 = pp. 193—203. Contains the text and translation of Bahá'u'lláh's Last Testament, and of his "Tablet of Good Tidings."

(43) Туманскій, А.: Къ вопросу объ авторахъ исторіи Бабидовъ, извѣстной подъ именемъ Тарихе Манукчи (تاريخ مانكچى) или Тарихе Джедидъ (تاريخ جديد), from the *Zapiski* for 1893, pp. 33—45, St Petersburg. An account, based chiefly on information derived from Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl of Gulpáyagán, of the manner in which the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jadíd*, or "New History" (of the Báb) was compiled and edited at the instance of Mánakjí, the Zoroastrian Agent in Ṭihrán. It contains valuable materials not to be found elsewhere.

(44) Туманскій, А.: Китабе Акдесъ. The Arabic text and Russian translation of the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*, or "Most Holy Book," of Bahá'u'lláh, published in 1899 in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St Pétersbourg*, viii série, Vol. viii, No. 6 and last: pp. xlviii + 129 + ٢٩. The Introduction contains much valuable information and many chronological data derived from Russian official records and not otherwise available.

(45) *Universal Principles of the Bahá'í Movement, Social, Economic, Governmental.* Washington, 1912: pp. 60.

(46) Vatralsky, Stoyan Krstoff: *Mohammedan Gnosticism in America: the Origin, History, Character and*

Esoteric Doctrines of the 'Truth-Seekers.' Extract from the *American Journal of Theology* for January, 1902, pp. 57—78. The author of this paper is seriously alarmed at the startling success achieved by the Bahá'í propaganda in America, the significance of which, he thinks, is generally underrated.

(47) Williams, Basil: *A Brief Sketch of the Rise and Development of Bábism*, explanatory of a paper read on this subject before the Royal Asiatic Society on Feb. 14, 1899. Eyre and Spottiswoode, London: pp. 14.

(48) Wilson, Dr Samuel Graham, D.D.: *Bahá'ism and its Claims: a study of the Religion promulgated by Bahá'u 'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1915: pp. 298. A hostile critical study of Bahá'í history and doctrine[1].

(49) Wilson, Dr Samuel Graham, D.D.: *The Bayán of the Báb.* Extract from the *Princeton Theological Review*, pp. 633—654.

II. Printed and Lithographed Works in Persian and Arabic.

(۱) اتیان الدّلیل لمن یرید الاقبال الی سوآء السبیل'

Ityánu'd-Dalíl, or "the Production of the Proof for him who would go forward unto the Straight Way." This book was lithographed in Egypt (*Wádi'n-Níl*) at the beginning of Ṣafar, 1318 (= May 31, 1900), and comprises 112 pages. It was given to me by Mírzá Ghulámu'lláh of Qazwín in January, 1901, when he passed through Cambridge on his

[1] A reply to this attack has been published by Ibráhím G. Khayru 'lláh under the title of *O Christians! Why do ye believe not in Christ?* See above, No. 22, p. 181.

way to America. It deals with the schism which arose at 'Akká after Bahá'u'lláh's death, and warmly champions the cause of Muḥammad 'Alí against his rival half-brother 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

(٢) احقاق الحقّ تألیف آقا محمّد تقی همدانی'

Iḥqáqu'l-Ḥaqq ("the Verification of the Truth"), an elaborate refutation of the Bábís and Bahá'ís by Áqá Muḥammad Taqí of Hamadán, the son of Ḥájji Muḥammad 'Alí Niráqí, formally approved by the great *Mujtahids* of Najaf, Ḥájji Muḥammad Kázim al-Khurásání and Ḥájji Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh al-Mázandaráni, whose recommendations, prefixed to the work, are dated Muḥarram 4, A.H. 1326 (= Feb. 7, 1908). The book, lithographed (without date or place of publication) in a large *naskh* hand, with "running heads," marginal notes and insets, and a very full table of contents (pp. 3—18) comprises 474 large-sized pages. It reveals on the whole an amount of knowledge of his opponents' case on the part of the writer rarely to be found in authors of such polemical works, and numerous Bábí and Bahá'í works are abundantly and correctly quoted. Some 30 pages (pp. 41—74) are devoted to the history of the sect, which is given in a form neither very accurate nor very fair, being based mainly on the *Násikhu't-Tawáríkh* of the official historian *Lisánu'l-Mulk* down to A.D. 1852, and for subsequent events on the *Risála-i-'Amma* ("Epistle of the Aunt")[1] and information given by an American visitor to 'Akká who saw and conversed with 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Some thirty heretical doctrines of the Bábís are exposed and refuted in detail, and many others incidentally, and a large part of the concluding portion of the book (pp. 300—427) is devoted to the refutation of the views

[1] For description of this work, see pp. 227 *infra*.

advanced by that notable Bahá'í propagandist Mírzá Abdu'l-Faẓl-i-Gulpáyagání in his *Kitábu'l-Farâ'id*, published in Cairo in 1315/1898[1]. In spite of its defects, the *Iḥqáqu'l-Ḥaqq* is on the whole the best refutation of Bábí and Bahá'í doctrine from the Muḥammadan point of view which I have met with. I am indebted for one copy which I possess to my friend Dr Sa'íd Khán of Hamadán, and for the other to the author himself.

(٣) الواح بهآء الله مشتمل بر سورة الهيكل، لوح الرئيس، لوح الأقدس، لوح الأمر و غيره

A collection of selected *Alwáḥ* ("Tablets") of Bahá'u 'lláh, lithographed in 1308/1890–1 in excellent *naskh*, and comprising 360 pages. The place of production and publication is not indicated, but this, and several similar volumes uniform with it, were, I believe, produced in India at some press officially recognized by the Bahá'í leaders. The volume was obtained in November, 1896, in Hamadán, Persia, by Mr Basil Williams, who gave it to me on February 7, 1897. There is no title-page, the volume beginning immediately with the *Súratu'l-Haykal*. The copyist's name appears at the end, but unfortunately only in the "New Writing" (*Khaṭṭ-i-Badí'*) of the Bahá'ís, which I am unable to read.

(٤) الواح بهآء الله

Another similar collection of *Alwáḥ*, lithographed (probably in India, as above) from the writing of the celebrated Bahá'í calligraphist Mushkín Qulam, whose colophon is dated the 13th Rajab, 1310 (January 31, 1893), and containing 329 pages. Presented to me by Muḥammad Jawád

[1] See p. 196 *infra*.

of Qazwín, one of the most prominent adherents of 'Abbás Efendi's rival and half-brother Muḥammad 'Alí, on the 29th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 1318 (Feb. 25, 1901).

(٥) تأريخ البابيّة أو مفتاح باب الأبواب، تأليف الدكتور ميرزا محمّد مهدى خان زعيم الدولة و رئيس الحكماء صاحب و منشى جريدة "حكمت" الفارسيّة،

A history of the Bábís from the beginning down to the time of writing (Rajab, 1321 = October, 1903), entitled *Miftáḥu Bábi'l-Abwáb* ("the Key to the Gate of Gates"), by Dr Mírzá Muḥammad Mahdí Khán *Za'ímu'd-Dawla*, owner and editor of the Persian newspaper *Ḥikmat* ("Wisdom"). Printed at the Press of *Al-Manár*, Cairo, 1321/1903: pp. ح + ٤٤٠. The author, though a determined antagonist of the Bábís, writes with some appearance of moderation. Though often inaccurate, he adds fresh materials derived orally from his father Muḥammad Taqí, who saw the Báb at Tabríz, and from other eye-witnesses. He also visited Bahá'u'llah and his sons and followers at 'Akká, and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal at Famagusta in Cyprus, and made a collection of Bábí and Bahá'í books, from which he quotes lengthy extracts in this work, and which he subsequently deposited in the library of the Mosque and University of al-Azhar in Cairo.

In the Introduction to this book the author discusses the seven most notable religions of the world, viz. (1) Buddhism; (2) Brahminism; (3) Fetishism; (4) Zoroastrianism; (5) Judaism, especially its teachings and prophecies concerning the Messiah; (6) Christianity; and (7) Islám. He next treats of the Sunní and Shí'a traditions and beliefs concerning the Mahdí, and the return of Jesus Christ to earth in the last days; of Antichrist (*Dajjál*); of the mystical

signification of the "detached letters of the Qur'án" (علم حروف القرآن المقطّعة); of Ṣúfí prognostications concerning the Mahdí and his Advent; and similar matters. Next follows the history of the Báb, preceded by accounts of the following nine notable heresiarchs who claimed to be the Mahdí: (1) *An-Nafsu'z-Zakiyya*; (2) *'Ubaydu'lláh al-Mahdí al-Fáṭimí*; (3) *Ibn Túmart*; (4) *Al-'Abbás al-Fáṭimí*; (5) *Sayyid Aḥmad*, the antagonist of the Sikhs in India; (6) *Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb*; (7) *As-Sanúsí*, whose son the author visited at Jaghbúb in 1295/1878; (8) *Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad Qádiyání*; (9) *Muḥammad Aḥmad* the Mahdí of the Súdán, of whom the author gives a full and favourable account. The book concludes with the account of the spread of Bahá'ism in America which has been translated at pp. 143–7 *supra*.

(٦) رجم الشّيطان فى رذائل البيان تأليف الحاجّ شيخ عبد الرّحيم

Rajmu'sh-Shayṭán fí Radhá'ili'l-Bayán ("the Stoning of Satan: or the infamies of the Bayán"), by Ḥájji Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Raḥím; a refutation, in Persian, of an Apology for Bábíism entitled *Kitábu'l-Ímán fí Iẓ-hári Nuqtati'l-Bayán* ("the Book of Faith: making plain the Point of the Bayán"). The book, which is lithographed, comprises 179 pp., but there is no indication of place or date of publication.

A curious feature of the book is that the whole text of the work which it is written to refute is given, the author's refutation taking the form of a running commentary, distinguished from his adversary's words by being overlined. Each clause of the *Kitábu'l-Ímán* is introduced by the words "*Qála'r-Rajím*" ("the Accursed One hath said"), while

each clause of the refutation begins "*Yaqúlu 'Abdu'r-Raḥím*" ("says 'Abdu'r-Raḥím"). The refutation is often so feeble that I am inclined to believe that the book really forms part of the Bábí propaganda, the essence of it being the original *Kitábu'l-Ímán*, and the weak reply being added merely to ensure its safe and open circulation amongst Musulmáns. Moreover the extent of the refuted work greatly exceeds that of the refutation. This view is shared by the author of the polemical anti-Bábí work *Minháju'ṭ-Ṭálibín* (see *infra*), who says (p. 337):

"Know that the books of the Bábís are chiefly in manuscript, beautifully written with the utmost care, agreeably to the command of the Báb, who has so commanded in the *Bayán*. They have few printed books, and what they have are only bought and sold amongst themselves, not given to strangers, save to such as they hope to convert, if they deem them fitting recipients. The only exception is the *Rajmu'sh-Shayṭán*, which is printed and sold openly by the booksellers. This book purports to have been written in refutation of a Bábí book entitled *Kitáb-i-Ímán*.....The original author is either an Azalí or a Bahá'í, it is uncertain which; and one Raḥím by name has written a reply to him. We know nothing of his identity, nor who he is, nor of what place." The author of the *Minháj* adds that either the so-called "refutation" was really written by the Bábís to discredit Islám by the weakness of the arguments adduced; or the author of it was a very ignorant Muḥammadan; or, if he was not very ignorant, the Bábís have tampered with what he wrote to make it unconvincing or even ridiculous.

(٧) رسالهٔ بشری و آیهٔ کُبری

Risála-i-Bushrá wa Áya-i-Kubrá ("the Tract of Good Tidings and the Most Great Sign"). A Persian tract

triumphantly chronicling the fate of Mírzá Yaḥyá, the ex-Azalí, who, disregarding the threats and warnings addressed to him by 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá, died suddenly at Jedda. See pp. 158—164 *supra*, where an analysis of the contents is given. Hindiyya Press, Cairo, Rajab 9, 1316 (= November 30, 1898): pp. 27 of 13 × 9 centimetres. Sent to me by Muḥammad Jawád from 'Akká, Feb. 25, 1901.

(٨) رسالهٔ كه جناب خادم ابهی .. در جواب سمّی جهرمی مرقوم داشته'

A tract written by *Khádim-i-Abhá* (*i.e.* Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán, entitled *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh*) in reply to Jahrumí, in support of the claims of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí and contesting those of his rival and half-brother 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Lithographed at Cairo (*Wádi'n-Níl*), 29 Dhu'l-Ḥijja, 1319 (= April 8, 1902): pp. 223.

(٩) شرح حال الشيخ احمد زين الدّين الاحسائى

A Persian treatise containing an account of the life and teachings of Shaykh Aḥmad Zaynu'd-Dín al-Aḥsá'í, the founder of the Shaykhí sect of the Shí'a, out of which the Báb arose. Lithographed at Bombay, without date.

(١٠) القول الفصل فى معرفة الامر والاصل'

Al-Qawlu'l-Faṣl fí Ma'rifati'l-Amr wa'l-Aṣl, an Arabic lithographed tract of 32 pp. containing a brief account of the origin and development of the Bábí and Bahá'í faiths, and supporting the claims of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí against his half-brother 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá. It is freely illustrated by quotations from the Bible, and was published at the beginning of Muḥarram, 1320 (= April 10, 1902).

(١١) كتاب اسرار غيبيّة لاسباب المدنيّة

This is the original of the work translated by Yuḥanná Dáwúd into English (see p. 178 *supra*, No. 10) under the title *Mysterious Forces of Civilization, written in Persian by an eminent Bahá'í philosopher.* Lithographed at Bombay in 1310/1892–3: pp. 154.

(١٢) الكتاب الأقدس و نبذةٌ من الواح بهآء الله

The complete text of the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*, followed by a selection of "Tablets" (*Alwáḥ*) by Bahá'u'lláh, lithographed in an excellent *naskh* in 1308/1890–1. According to the late Baron Victor Rosen, from whom I received it in November, 1893, it was lithographed at 'Akká; but I have a pencil note (whence derived I forget) to say that it and two similar volumes were produced in Bombay at the Press of Dutt Prashad (مطبعهٔ دت پرساد), which belongs to the *Afnán* or kinsmen of the Báb. The copyist was Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn of Shíráz, or, as he calls himself in the colophon, "Husayn who was imprisoned in Kharṭúm" (حسين الّذى سُجِنَ فى الخرطوم). It contains 380 pp.

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(١٣) كتاب الدُّرَر البهيّة فى جواب الأسئلة الهنديّة و يليه الرسالة الثّانية فى تفسير قوله تعالى (ثمّ انّ علينا بيانه) و الرسالة الثّالثة و هى الرّسالة الاسكندريّة كلّها لأبى الفضائل الايرانى يعنى أبى الفضل الجرباذقانى (گلپايگانى).

Three treatises by Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl of Gulpáyágán, printed at Cairo at the *Mawsú'át* Press in 1318/1900, at the expense of Ḥájji Mírza Ḥasan of Khurásán and Faraju'lláh Zakí the Kurd, by whom all rights are reserved, and comprising 279 pages. *Ad-Durar'u'l-Bahiyya* ("Pearls of

Great Price") fills the greater part of the volume, *viz.* pp. 4—202. This is followed by a commentary on the verse of the *Qur'án* (lxxv, 19) "and afterwards it shall be Our part to explain it" (pp. 203—214). The third and last portion of the book comprises the treatise entitled *Iskandariyya* ("Alexandrian"), pp. 215—278.

(١٤) كتاب الفرائد فى بيان وجوه اقسام الدّليل و البرهان و جواب مسائل انتقد بها الشيخ عبد السّلام على اهل الايقان لأبى الفضل الجرباذقانى (گلپايگانى)

The *Kitábu'l-Farà'id*, on the different kinds of proof and argument, in reply to criticisms directed by Shaykh 'Abdu's-Salám against the *Ahlu'l-Íqán*, *i.e.* the Bahá'ís; by the above-mentioned Mírzá Abu'l Faẓl of Gulpáyagán. This book comprises pp. 25 + 731, was completed at Cairo on the 1st of Shawwál, 1315 (= February 23, 1898), and was printed at the expense of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ṭihrán.

(١٥) مقالهٔ شخصى سيّاح كه در قضيّهٔ باب نوشته‌است'

A Bombay lithographed edition, dated the 26th of Rabí' II, 1308 (= December 6, 1890), of the *Traveller's Narrative written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb* which I published with an English translation and notes at the Cambridge University Press in 1891. It contains 240 pp.

(١٦) منهاج الطالبين

A refutation and exposure of Bábí and Bahá'í doctrine, entitled *Minháju't-Ṭálibín* ("the Way of Seekers"), by Ḥájji Ḥusayn-qulí *Jadídu'l-Islám*. The author is an Armenian from Zarkarán near Shírwán, whose original name, before he was converted to Islám, was, as he informs us on pp. 59—60,

Arákil the son of Hartún. This book is discursive, ill-arranged, and badly written, but contains a good deal of valuable information, not only about the Bábís, but about other heterodox sects of Islám. It was lithographed at Bombay in Sha'bán, 1320 (= November, 1902), and contains 400 pp.

17. *Recantation of Mírzá Badí'u'lláh.*

A printed Persian tract of 57 pp. without title, date, or place of publication, in which Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, the son of Bahá'u'lláh, renounces his allegiance to his brother Muḥammad 'Alí and declares his acceptance of the claims of his half-brother 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá. This happened in the spring of 1903[1] when I was in Cairo, but the tract in question was only communicated to me on October 9, 1910, by M. Hippolyte Dreyfus, who wrote concerning it: "J'ai joint au paquet une petite brochure de Badi'ou'llah que je ne sais si vous connaissez, et qui je crois vous intéressera, car il y expose toute l'histoire de ses difficultés avec Mohammed Ali, et son retour à 'Abbás Efendi."

At the end is the seal of Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, and a manuscript note in Persian stating that the original document, written, signed and sealed by him, is extant and available.

(۱۸) واقعهٔ هائلهٔ خادم ابهی در روضهٔ مبارکهٔ علیا

A lithographed tract of 16 pp., undated, entitled "the Terrible Episode of the Servant of the Most Glorious in the Blessed and Supreme Mausoleum." It contains an account of the cruel treatment to which Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán was exposed in the garden of Behjé at 'Akká in May, 1897,

[1] I possess brief renunciations in the same sense, signed by Mírzá Badí'u'lláh and Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí *Afnán* respectively, both dated February 4, 1903.

at the hands of the partisans of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá on account of his protest against the claims advanced by the latter, and his adherence to his half-brother and rival Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí. This protest was made on May 28, 1897, on the fifth anniversary of Bahá'u'lláh's death, to a number of prominent Bahá'ís assembled for this purpose, and is fully reported, occupying seven pages. In consequence of this protest Mírzá Áqá Ján was grievously maltreated, beaten, imprisoned in a stable, robbed of his books, threatened with strangulation, and excommunicated by the followers of 'Abbás Efendi.

III. Manuscript Literature.

Notwithstanding the considerable number of Bábí and Bahá'í works which have been printed and lithographed in recent years, the bulk of this literature and the most important part of it exists only in manuscript. None of the writings of the Báb or Ṣubḥ-i-Azal have, so far as I know, ever been printed in their entirety, though a few of the former have been translated; and though the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* and other important writings of Bahá'u'lláh have been printed or lithographed, many of these also are only available in manuscript.

Twenty-five years ago I published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1892 (pp. 433—499 and 637—710) a *Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts* which at that time constituted my collection. Since then I have acquired a certain number more MSS., some from Cyprus, but the most valuable and interesting portion from a Bábí (Azalí) copyist in Ṭihrán with whom I was put in touch by a learned Persian friend (a convert to Christianity) in 1912. The British Museum also acquired about the years 1897–

1899 some 53 Bábí and Azalí MSS., which have not yet been described in print. These all came from Cyprus, through the late Commissioner of Larnaca, Mr Claude Delaval Cobham, from Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son Riẓwán 'Alí, who finally made profession of the Christian religion and adopted the name of "Constantine the Persian." These MSS., of which the class-marks range from **Or. 5080** to **Or. 6887**, were examined by my friend Dr Aḥmad Khán, for some time University teacher of Persian in Cambridge, who, before leaving England about the end of 1915, presented me with the notes which he had written on them.

I do not propose to give here a formal description of these manuscripts, but only to enumerate the chief works represented amongst them, sometimes by two or three separate MSS., utilizing for this purpose both my own MSS. and Dr Aḥmad Khán's descriptions of those in the British Museum, supplied (as many of my own were) by Riẓwán 'Alí. Both these collections are derived almost entirely from Azalí sources, but there are also many Bahá'í MSS. in the British Museum, of which I have no notes, and of which, therefore, I can offer no description. I shall arrange the manuscript works which I propose to notice in the following classes:

(*A*) Works by the Báb.

(*B*) Works by *Janáb-i-Quddús* (Ḥájji Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh), who was killed at Bárfurúsh in Mázandarán after the reduction of the Bábí stronghold at Shaykh Ṭabarsí.

(*C*) Works by Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal*.

(*D*) Works by Mullá Rajab 'Alí *Qahír* (assassinated at Baghdád or Karbalá by Bahá'ís) and other Azalís, such as Shaykh Aḥmad *Rúḥí* of Kirmán and Mírzá Áqá Khán of

Kirmán (both put to death at Tabríz, together with Mírzá Ḥasan Khán *Khabíru'l-Mulk*, by Muḥammad 'Ali Mírzá, on July 17, 1896)[1].

(*E*) Bahá'í works, which should be subdivided into those written by himself or his followers during his lifetime, and those written after his death by his rival sons 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, and their respective partisans. As, however, I shall have occasion to mention here but few Bahá'í works, I shall ignore this logical division.

(*F*) Sundry historical monographs of Bábí authorship.

(A) Works by the Báb.

(١) الصّحيفة بين الحرمَيْن

As-Ṣaḥífatu bayna'l-Ḥaramayn, "the Tract [revealed or published] between the two Holy Cities," in answer to questions propounded by "*al-Muḥíṭ*" and Sayyíd 'Alí of Kirmán. This is one of the Báb's earliest works, having been composed in the spring of 1261 (= A.D. 1845), in the first year of the Manifestation. Considerable use has been made of it by M. A.-L.-M. Nicolas in his excellent and erudite work *Seyyèd Ali Mohammed dit le Bâb* (pp. 42—3, 47—8, 206, 207, 209, etc).

Riẓwán 'Alí sent two copies of this work to England, one, now marked **Or. 5325**, to the British Museum, and one (**C. 28***) to myself. The best and oldest manuscript which I have seen, however, copied at Shíráz in 1263/1847, belongs to the Leyden library, and forms the ninth and last component part of MS. **No. 2414**. It begins:

[1] See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 93—96.

انّ هذا كتاب قد نزلت (*sic*) على الأرض المقدّسة بين الحرمَيْن من لدن علىّ حميد'

The Báb herein calls himself بقيّة الله ("the Remnant of God"), and هذا الفتى العربى ("this Arabian youth"), alluding to the fact that he was a Sayyid, and therefore descended from the Prophet Muḥammad. My MS. of this work, comprising 120 pp., was completed by Riẓwán 'Alí on December 26, 1905, for Mr C. D. Cobham, who presented it to me in May, 1906. Bound in at the end is a note by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal in Persian on the disposal of the Báb's body.

Commentaries on Súras of the Qur'án.

The Báb, as is well known[1], classified all that he wrote under five heads or categories, to wit (1) "Verses" (*áyát*) in the style of the *Qur'án*: (2) Prayers and supplications (*munájját*); (3) Commentaries (*tafásír*); (4) Scientific treatises (*Shu'ún i-ilmiyya*), such as answers to enquirers; and (5) "Persian words" or treatises. These are known as the "Five Grades," "States," or "Styles" (*Shu'ún-i-khamsa*), and, as we shall see presently, specimens of all five are sometimes collected together in one volume under this title.

Of commentaries (*tafásír*) I am acquainted with five only, on the first, second, twelfth, one hundred and third, and one hundred and eighth *súras*, as follows:

(٢) تفسير سورة الفاتحة'

Commentary on the *Súratu'l-Fátiḥa*, or opening chapter of the *Qur'án*. I have a copy of this, and Dr Aḥmad Khán

[1] See my second paper on the Bábís in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, p. 893; also my *Catalogue and Description of* 27 *Bábí MSS.* in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 452—3 and 462 *et seqq.*; and Vol. ii of the *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 343—7.

has furnished me with a note on the British Museum MSS. **Or. 5276** and **Or. 5277**, described by him as containing commentaries, on the first two *súras* of the *Qur'án*, *viz.* the *Súratu'l-Fátiḥa* and the *Súratu'l-Baqara*, and copied in 1897 by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son Riẓwán 'Alí. According to a statement made to me by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal[1], Janáb-i-Quddús also wrote a commentary on the *Súratu'l-Ḥamd* (*i.e.* the *Súratu'l-Fátiḥá*). Perhaps the Báb's commentary on this *súra* should be regarded simply as forming the initial portion of the better-known commentary to be next mentioned. In confirmation of this view see my *Catalogue*...in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 498—9.

(٣) تفسير سورة البقرة

Commentary on the second chapter of the *Qur'án*, entitled *Súratu'l-Baqara*. Of this, as mentioned in the last article, there is a manuscript in the British Museum, and I have also a manuscript (**BBF. 6**) transmitted to me from Persia about the end of 1890 through Ṣubḥ-i-Azal. It is fully described in my *Catalogue*... in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 493—9, where the passage referring to it in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jadíd* is also cited.

(٤) تفسير سورة يوسف

Commentary on the *Súratu Yúsuf* (Súra xii of the *Qur'án*). There are two copies of this in the British Museum (**Or. 3539** and **Or. 6681**); at least one other (described by the late Baron Victor Rosen in his *Collections Scientifiques: Manuscrits Arabes*, pp. 170—191) at Petrograd; and another, copied for me in Constantinople in 1891, in my own library (**BBC. 4**). Concerning this work, which is also called *Qayyúmu'l-Asmá* and *Aḥsanu'l-Qiṣaṣ*, see

[1] *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, p. 340.

J. R. A. S. for 1889, pp. 904—909; *ibid.*, 1892, pp. 261—268 and 699—701; and the *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, p. 3, n. 3.

This book is a rhapsody rather than a commentary, containing as many chapters or *súras* (111) as there are verses in the original *súra* in the *Qur'án*, to each of which a special title is assigned. The specimens printed by Baron Rosen (see previous paragraph) are amply sufficient to enable the student conversant with Arabic to form a judgment of the work.

(٥) تفسير سورة العصر

Commentary on the *Súratu'l-'Aṣr* (Súra ciii of the *Qur'án*). There is a manuscript of this (**Or. 5112**) in the British Museum, copied by Riẓwán 'Alí in 1897, and I possess another manuscript (**BBF. 7**) described in my *Catalogue of Bábí MSS.* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 637—642). In both MSS. this work is followed by the *Tasbíḥ-i-Fáṭima* ("Doxology of Fáṭima").

This commentary was composed by the Báb in Iṣfahán about 1846 at the request of the *Imám-Jum'a* of that city, and is remarkable for the humility of its tone. Thus he says in the preface: "Before mentioning one word of the nature of commentary, I beg His Reverence (may God continue the shadow of his clemency!) to forgive me if he should notice any error of my pen, since faultiness is of the nature of man of every circumstance[1]."

(٦) تفسير سورة الكوثر

Commentary on the *Súratu'l-Kawthar* (Súra cviii of the *Qur'án*). There is a manuscript of this work (**Or. 5080**) in the British Museum, copied in 1308/1890–1, apparently

[1] For the original, see *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, p. 639, ll. 18—21.

by Riẓwán 'Alí, and I also possess a manuscript (**BBF. 8**) described on pp. 643—8 of my *Catalogue of Bábí MSS.* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892). It was composed by the Báb for Sayyid Yaḥyá of Dáráb (the leader of the Nayríz insurrection), who is addressed by name in a passage near the beginning.

(۷) دلائل سبعه

The "Seven Proofs" (*Dalá'il-i-Sab'a*), of which the French translation by A.-L.-M. Nicolas (Paris, 1902) has been already mentioned. There is a MS. (**Or. 5100**) in the British Museum, on which Dr Aḥmad Khán has the following caustic remarks:

"Neither the style nor the composition is good, but the author himself declares that Accidence, Syntax, and other exoteric sciences exist only for the comprehension of the Heavenly Scriptures and Divine Sciences, therefore what need of them has one who is himself the source of the latter?...If this book is by the Báb, it is a very extraordinary thing that he seeks to establish the truth of his mission by the words of those who believe in him, adducing to this end the arguments of Sayyid Yaḥyá of Dáráb.

"The manuscript is transcribed in the handwriting of Riẓwán 'Alí, and in addition to the badness of the style, for which the original is responsible, it also suffers from numerous clerical errors. It would appear that Riẓwán 'Alí was so much occupied with his religion and doctrine, and the transcription [of books connected therewith] that he had no time to read the *Qur'án*, all the verses cited from which are erroneously written."

Another copy of the "Seven Proofs" forms the concluding portion (ff. 92—160) of one of my MSS. (**BBP. 7**). I made a copy of this and submitted it to Ṣubḥ-i-Azal in

1889. He returned it after a few days with some corrections, adding that it was written by the Báb for his amanuensis Sayyid Ḥusayn of Yazd.

See *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, pp. 912—918 and 1001—1002; *ibid.*, 1892, pp. 447—8; *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 27, n. 1, 221, 274, and 352, n. 1.

(٨) 'زيارت نامه'

The *Ziyárat-náma*, or "Book of Visitation," which forms the first part of my MS. **BBP. 7** (ff. 19—45) is briefly noticed in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, pp. 896—902 and 1000, and *ibid.* for 1892, p. 445. I have there endeavoured to show that it is identical with a MS. described by Mírzá Kazem-Beg in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866 (viii, pp. 498—502), and is also the work referred to by Gobineau (through a misunderstanding of the title) as the "Journal of the Pilgrimage." This was probably only one of several *Ziyárat-námas* or *Ziyárát* composed by the Báb, for Ṣubḥ-i-Azal mentioned amongst 22 volumes which he possessed in Baghdád, and which were taken from him by Bahá'u'lláh's followers, one volume of *Munájat* (Prayers) and *Ziyárát* (Visitations). See *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 337—8, 339 and 341.

(٩) 'بيان فارسى'

The Persian *Bayán* is by far the most important, the most systematic, the most coherent, and the most intelligible of the Báb's works. Manuscripts are not very uncommon. There are at least two (**Or. 2819**[1] and **Or. 5760**) in the British Museum; one (**Or. 34**) in the Cambridge University Library; one (**Suppl. Persan, 1070**, ff. 1—284) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; two or three (one of which is described by Baron Rosen in his *Collections Scientifiques de*

[1] This is a very good MS., copied by the poet Nabíl.

l'Institut des Langues Orientales de Saint-Pétersbourg, Vol. iii, *Manuscrits Persans*, pp. 1—32) in Russia; and two (**BBP. 8** and **BBC. 3**) in my own library. For description of the latter, see my *Catalogue* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 450—1 and 698—9). See also *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, pp. 918 *et seqq.* and *passim*; also the *Traveller's Narrative*, Vol. ii, *passim*. I have also published an analytical Index of the subject-matter in my edition of Ḥájjí Mírzá Jání's *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf*[1], pp. liv—xcv.

(10) *Books of "Names" or "Names of All Things."*

Of all the Báb's writings no category is so unintelligible, and, to the ordinary reader, so tedious and so unprofitable as this. It is represented in the British Museum by the MSS. **Or. 5278, Or. 5481, Or. 5487, Or. 5488, Or. 5489, Or. 5490, Or. 5869** and **Or. 6255**; and in my library by **BBF. 9** and **BBF. 10** (see *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 648—659), and two other volumes, corresponding to these, each to each, copied in 1330/1912 and sent to me in June, 1913, by the Bábí copyist in Persia mentioned on p. 198 *supra*. The titles of these volumes differ a little (كتاب الاسماء, تفسير الاسماء, كتاب اسماء كلّ شئ), and I cannot say positively how far they represent identically the same work, but they are at least very similar, and are all intolerably monotonous. The six lines cited on p. 649 of the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892 are, *mutatis mutandis* (*i.e.* substituting a new "Attribute" or "Name" of God in each section) a fair sample of the whole. I doubt if anyone, even the most enthusiastic believer, could read or understand them, and I am certain that no one could translate them.

[1] Vol. xv of the *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series*.

(11) *Shu'ún-i-khamsa* ("Five Grades" or "Styles").

Allusion has already been made to the "Five Grades" or "Styles" into which the Báb divided all that he wrote[1], and amongst Bábí MSS. we not unfrequently come across volumes bearing this title and containing selections from each of these "Five Grades." One such volume in my library (**BBF. 2**) is described in my *Catalogue* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 462—470). Two apparently similar MSS. in the British Museum (**Or. 5612** and **Or. 6680**) are entitled respectively كتاب البيان في شؤون دعوات and در بيان شؤون الخمسة'

(12) آثار النّقطة: آثار متفرّقهٔ بيان'

Two of my MSS. (**BBF. 1** and **BBF. 3**) bear the titles of "Works of the Point," *i.e.* the Báb, or "of the Bayán" (*Áthárú'n-Nuqṭa*, *Áthárú'l-Bayán*). Descriptions of them will be found in my *Catalogue* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 451—462 and 470—483). A MS. in the British Museum (**Or. 5629**) bears the similar title of *Áthár-i-mutafarriqa-i-Bayán* ("Divers Works of the Bayán"). These works are similar, but not identical, each forming a kind of chrestomathy of the innumerable Prayers, Visitations, Invocations, etc. composed by the Báb. The contents of **BBF. 3** include pieces of much greater interest than anything to be found in **BBF. 1**. The British Museum MS. I have not seen, and Dr Aḥmad Khán's notice of it is too brief to render any judgement on it possible.

(13) الواح باب'

Letters from the Báb to various persons. The British Museum MS. **Or. 5631** is thus entitled, but I have not seen

[1] See p. 201 *supra*; *J.R.A.S.* for 1892, p. 453; and the *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 344—6.

it, and Dr Aḥmad Khán gives little more than the title. I possess a MS. sent to me on Nov. 4, 1912 by the Bábí copyist already alluded to. It comprises 232 pp. of epistles, all in Arabic, addressed to various individuals (mostly believers) whose names are generally specified in the rubric which precedes each. These include Sayyid Yaḥyá of Dárab; Shaykh Náṣiru'd-Dín Karbalá'í; Minúchihr Khán *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*, who was Governor of Iṣfahán when the Báb fled thither from Shíráz, and who favoured and protected him so long as he lived; the Governor of Shúshtar; Asadu'lláh of Qazwín; Mullá Rajab 'Alí; Sayyid Aḥmad Áqá-záda; Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí; Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb-i-Munshí; the father of Sayyid Ḥusayn [? of Yazd, the Báb's secretary]; *Janáb-i-Ṭáhira* (*Qurratu'l-'Ayn*); Mírzá Najafqulí; and Mullá Aḥmad, entitled "he who betook himself in flight to God the One" (*al-Muhájir ila'lláhi'l-Aḥad*). The last letter is addressed to the *'Ulamá* or doctors of Theology. Several of these letters belong to the earliest period of the Báb's mission, while others were written from his prison at Mákú. Another MS., received from the same scribe in October, 1912, contains at the end (18 pp.) a few letters from the Báb to the Sháh, Sulaymán Khán, etc., and also a short tract (5 pp.) entitled *Ṣaḥífa-i-Riẓáwiyya*.

(B) Works by Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, known as *Janáb-i-Quddús*.

Of this notable adherent of the Báb, whom some of his followers regarded as the *Qá'im* or Imám Mahdí, and who was put to death at Bárfurúsh in the summer of 1849 after the reduction of the Bábí stronghold of Shaykh Ṭabarsí by the Royalists, some of the writings are preserved in the

British Museum MS. **Or. 5110** and in one of my MSS. (**BBF. 4**[1]).

Of the former, which I have not seen, Dr Aḥmad Khán writes as follows:

"*Abḥáru'l-Quddúsiyya* by Janáb-i-Quddús. This includes ten pieces, eight, all in Arabic, in the form of prayers (*Munáját*), and two others in the form of addresses. In the two latter there are some matters of historical importance. Thus, for example, at the beginning of one of them is this sentence:

فلقد كتبْتُ ذلك اوّل يوم من شهر جمادى من سنة ١٢٦٦ يوم خروجى من بلدى بحكم الرّجل الذّى الله يعلم شأنه و هو عند الله لمن الخاسرين'

'*I wrote this on the first day of the month of Jumádá*, A.H. 1266[1], *the day when I came forth from my home by command of that man whose state God* [*alone*] *knoweth, and who is indeed in God's eyes of the damned.*'

"It is not apparent to whom this letter is written, but I suspect that it must have been addressed to the *Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá* of Bárfurúsh[2]. It appears that Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, known as *Quddús*, also claimed to be a Sayyid, though there is no external evidence of this.

"In the same letter the following passage also occurs:

قد ادّعْتُ اجدادى سلام الله عليهم و لكان لى بذلك فخرٌ مُبينٌ'

[1] I think the year is erroneously given, and that it should be "1265." As it is not specified which of the two Jumádás is meant, the corresponding Christian date may be March 25, 1849, or April 24 of the same year.

[2] The *Sa'ídu'l-'Ulamá* was the principal theological antagonist of *Janáb-i-Quddús*.

'*I followed my forebears* (*on whom be the peace of God*), *and herein verily I had an evident pride.*'

"At the end of this letter he has added some lines in Persian.

"This sentence occurs at the beginning of another letter:

آثار القدّوسيّة جلّ و عزّ الى عالم البلد حاجى ملّا محمّد'

'*The writings of Quddús* (*mighty and glorious is he!*) *to the learned divine of the land Ḥájji Mullá Muḥammad.*'

"This sentence also occurs in this letter:

و آتّقِ من أن تكون عند الامام عجّل الله فرجه مؤاخذًا بما تؤمر بمخالفته فوحقّك ليس اليوم مثل ما كان من قبل و انّ لدىّ لبشارة عظيمة لو أُذن لى لأخبرتك بها و لكن تظهر فى وقته'

'*And fear lest thou shouldst be held to account before the Imám* (*may God hasten his glad advent!*) *because thou art commissioned to oppose him. By thy Truth, today is not as it was aforetime, and verily I have a great message of joy: were it permitted to me I would inform thee of it; but it will become manifest in its time.*'

"It does not appear from this prayer for the '*glad advent*' and the promise of some '*message of joy*' which he gives whether he wrote this letter before the Manifestation of the Báb, or whether he had in view some other 'glad tidings.'

"It appears from the words of *Quddús* that he himself also advanced some great claim, even as with most of the earlier followers of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb each one regarded himself as the Manifestation of an Imám or Prophet."

The six pieces written by *Janáb-i-Quddús* which fill pp. 1—20 of my manuscript **BBF. 4** seem to be quite different from those in the British Museum MS. The opening passage of each will be found on pp. 484—7 of *J. R. A. S.* for 1892.

(C) Works by Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal*.

Some twenty-six works by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal are represented by the MSS. in the British Museum and in my own library. All of them are in Arabic, except three or four which are in Persian. The latter include a continuation of the Persian *Bayán*, a long *mathnawí* poem of some 7000 verses entitled *Kitáb-i-Ṭúbá*, and a collection of letters and other pieces in Persian entitled *Áthár-i-Azaliyya*. All these MSS. emanate directly from the Azalí head-quarters at Famagusta in Cyprus, and most of them were transcribed by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son Riẓwán 'Alí. Arranged in alphabetical order by titles they are as follows:

(۱) آثار ازلیّه

Several collections of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's Persian writings bear this general title which is not specific, and does not imply their identity. I have one such MS. (**BBF. 5**: see *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp 492—3) so entitled. This is wholly or chiefly in prose; but **Or. 5628** of the British Museum contains poems by him which Dr Aḥmad Khán describes as "relatively better than some *qaṣídas* of his already mentioned, but lacking poetical beauties, and not worthy to be included amongst the fine poetry of the notable Persian poets."

(۲) احکام بیان

Aḥkám-i-Bayán ("Laws of the Bayán"). The British Museum MS. **Or. 5486** is so entitled. It is described by

Dr Aḥmad Khán as an explanation by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal of the laws and ordinances of the *Bayán*. It is written in Arabic and arranged in the usual fashion in *Wáḥids* ("Unities") subdivided into chapters.

(۳) الواح ازل

Epistles or "Tablets" (*Alwáḥ*) of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, addressed to various persons, mostly his followers. Eight such collections in the British Museum are described by Dr Aḥmad Khán. These are as follows:

Or. 5108. This contains some 67 pieces, of which five are of the kind called *Du'á-yi-Haykal* (see *infra*, pp. 216—7, *s.v.* كتاب الهياكل), and one a Persian *qaṣída* in praise of Queen Victoria, containing the date of her birth (A.D. 1819) and coronation (A.D. 1837). Dr Aḥmad Khán, who read most of the contents of this volume, describes them as "monotonous," and makes special mention of only two pieces, Nos. 41 and 46. The former contains a prohibition of marriage with unbelievers, and a strong recommendation of the use of the veil by women. The latter contains the following historical data. "The Manifestation of the 'Point' (*Nuqṭa*, *i.e.* the Báb) was according to one reckoning (? by solar years) at the age of 24, while according to the lunar reckoning he was just entering his 25th year. After declaring his mission he fled to Mecca, whence [he returned] to Shíráz. His total apparent [*i.e.* earthly] life was 32 years, of which he passed five in prison and 27 in Shíráz and its environs and in other lands. I [first] read the 'Tablets' revealed to him in 1266/1849–50, when I was 19 years of age. From this date until now I have rendered faithful and obedient service. The period of my sojourn in Ṭihrán and entrance into this faith dated from the middle of 1263/1847."

Or. 5497. This contains Arabic prayers and meditations (*Munáját*) "revealed" at Famagusta in Cyprus. The MS. was copied in 1898 by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son Riẓwán 'Alí.

Or. 5498. This contains a dozen letters, mostly addressed by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal to his followers, and a panegyric on the late Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, wherein mention is made of two persons (presumably Turkish officials) named Ḥasan Ḥámid and Ḥájji Darwísh.

Or. 5499. More "Tablets," some in Arabic and some in Persian, addressed by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal to his followers.

Or. 5632. A collection of "Tablets" similar to the last, containing warnings against association with his half-brother and rival Bahá'u'lláh.

Or. 5698. Another similar collection. Amongst those to whom "Tablets" are addressed are Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's sister, and Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kirmán, who was put to death in Tabríz together with Shaykh Aḥmad *Rúḥí* of Kirmán and Mírzá Ḥasan Khán *Khabíru'l-Mulk* on July 17, 1896. The above-mentioned Shaykh Aḥmad and Mírzá Faẓlu'lláh, Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's nephew, are also addressed, besides several of his own sons and daughters, his aged and faithful followers 'Abdu'l-Aḥad of Zanján, and a physician named Sayyid Asadu'lláh.

Or. 5732. A collection of "Tablets" similar to the last.

Or. 6256. This contains writings in the different "Grades" or "Styles" (*Shu'únát*), and includes a minatory address to Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Khúy (originally entitled *Janáb-i-Dayyán*, but here called "*Abu'sh-Shurúr*") and answers to questions propounded by one Rajab-'Alí. These are followed by *áyát*, in imitation of the *súras* of the *Qur'án*, *aḥkám* ("commandments"), etc.

(٤) تفسير سورة البقرة لصبح الازل

Like the Báb, Ṣubḥ-i-Azal wrote a commentary on the second chapter of the *Qur'án*, the *Súratu'l-Baqara*. This commentary is in two volumes, the first (**Or. 5695**) entitled *Jawr wa'th-Thamar* (sic) *fí Tafsíri Súrati'l-Baqar*, and the second (**Or. 5696**) entitled *Rúḥ wa'l-Qamar fí Tafsíri Súrati'l-Baqar*. This commentary contains a very literal Persian rendering of the Arabic original.

(٥) ديوان الازل

The *Díwán* of Azal. Of this I possess two MSS. (**B. 40** and **B. 40***), while a third (**Or. 5303**) exists in the British Museum. It is a prose Arabic work, and, as Dr Aḥmad Khán remarks in his notes, there is no evident reason why it should be called a *Díwán*. It contains *súras* in imitation of the *Qur'án*, but full of vain repetitions and grammatical errors. Dr Aḥmad Khán criticizes it somewhat harshly in the following words. "Although his (Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's) brother Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí (Bahá'u'lláh) also lays claim to Divinity with the utmost audacity, yet he at least has some excuse conformable to their terminology, since he claims to be 'He whom God shall manifest.' But it does not appear why, or in what sense, by what standard, or by what title, one who only claims the position of a vicar or executor [to the Báb], should name his absurdities 'Scriptures revealed from Heaven.'"

(٦) ذيل بيان فارسى

Supplement to the Báb's Persian *Bayán* by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, beginning with *Wáḥid* ix, ch. 11 and ending with *Wáḥid* xi, ch. 19. I possess one MS. comprising 122 ff. (**B. 41**), received from Cyprus on Dec. 4, 1896.

(٧) رياض المهتدين

Or. 5494 of the British Museum contains a collection of prayers and supplications so described, amongst which are some intended for use in the Bábí month of Fasting called *Shahru'l-'Ulá*. Compare **Or. 5492** of the same Library, which is entitled *Ṣaḥífatu 'r-Rijá li-ayyámi Shahri'l-'Ulá*.

(٨) صحائف ازل

Besides the work last mentioned there are numerous tracts by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal entitled *Ṣaḥífa* (plural *Ṣaḥá'if*), such as the *Ṣaḥífa-i-Majdiyya*, *Ṣaḥífatu'l-Miráyá* (**Or. 5496** of the B.M.), *Ṣaḥífa-i-Wajdiyya wa Khuṭba-i-Nikáḥiyya* (**Or. 5275**), etc. One of my MSS. (**B. 40**[2]) in two parts (pp. 314 and 292 respectively) contains, besides *Munáját* (Prayers or Supplications), many such *Ṣaḥá'if*, the first of which is entitled *Ṣaḥífatu'l-Awsa'iyya*.

(٩) كتاب الحيوٰة

The *Kitábu'l-Ḥayát* ("Book of Life") is represented by **Or. 5630** of the British Museum. According to Dr Aḥmad Khán's description, it was composed in Ramaẓán, 1285 (= end of 1868 or beginning of 1869), and the MS. was copied thirty years later (in 1899) by Riẓwán 'Alí. It derives its name merely from the fact that it was begun on the day of the month called by the Bábís *Ḥayát*. In style it resembles the *Lama'átu'l-Azal* and *Kitábu'l-Hayákil*, concerning which see below, pp. 216—217.

(١٠) كتاب طوبى

Kitáb-i-Ṭúbá, a long Persian *mathnawí* poem containing stories and moral reflections, by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal. I possess a MS. of this work (**B. 1**) copied in 1897 by his son Riẓwán 'Alí, who presented it to the late Mr C. D. Cobham,

formerly Commissioner of Larnaca, Cyprus, who gave it to me in August, 1906. This MS. contains 587 pp. and the poem consists of rather more than 7000 verses. Its contents appear to be ethical rather than religious in character, and to present few if any specifically Bábí features.

(١١) كتاب علّيين

Kitáb i-'Illiyyín, represented by **Or. 5868**, ff. 27 *et seqq.*, and **Or. 6252** of the British Museum. It is described by Dr Aḥmad Khán as one of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's *chefs d'œuvre*.

(١٢) كتاب نور

This is one of the best known of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's works, at any rate by name[1], and is represented by three MSS. in the British Museum (**Or. 5326**, **Or. 5491** and **Or. 6253**), while another MS. (**Or. 6654**) contains an Index of the 77 *súras* which compose it. It consists of Arabic *áyát* in imitation of the *Qur'án*, and thus belongs to the first or highest of the "Five Grades" (*Shu'ún-i-khamsa*) into which the Bábí scriptures are divided. There are two books of this name, a larger and a smaller, both by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal. See Vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 340—1.

(١٣) كتاب الهياكل

Hayákil (plural of *Haykal*, "Temple," "Form") is the name given by the Bábís to the inscribed pentacles which served them as talismans. Similar circular figures for the use of women are termed *Dawá'ir* ("Circles, plural of *Dá'ira*). The Arabic formulae contained in the class of books entitled *Kitábu'l-Hayákil* are presumably intended

[1] It is mentioned by Gobineau (*Rel. et Philos. dans l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 312—313), and described by M. Cl. Huart (*Journal Asiatique* for 1887, pp. 133—144).

for use in this way. I have one MS. of this sort (**B. 39**) containing 1001 of these *Haykals* (ff. 514, copied by Riẓwán 'Alí in 1310/1892); and **Or. 5324** of the British Museum appears to represent the same work. Another British Museum MS. (**Or. 6679**) having the same title, though ascribed to Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, is in reality, according to Dr Aḥmad Khán, by Bahá'u'lláh, and is probably the well-known manifesto to the kings properly entitled *Súra-i-Haykal*.

(١٤) لآلی و مجالی

The *La'álí wa Majálí* ("Pearls and Points of Effulgence") is represented by my MS. **BBF. 4**, described in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 489—491, and by the British Museum MS. **Or. 5113**. It was composed in response to one Mahdí, who had demanded of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal a work similar in style and character to the *Sententiae* of 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib.

(١٥) لمعات الازل

The *Lama'át* (or "Rays," "Splendours") of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal is in Arabic, in the style of "verses" (*áyát*) of the *Qur'án*, and is represented by my MS. (**A. 35**) and by the British Museum MS. **Or. 5274**. It is divided into 28 chapters, and contains sundry allusions to his half-brother Bahá'u'lláh, and to the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the rulers of Persia and Turkey.

(١٦) مرآة البیان

The *Mirátu'l-Bayán* ("Mirror of the *Bayán*"). Of this work of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's I possess a MS. (**BBF. 11**), described in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 660—2, and there is another (**Or. 5114**) in the British Museum, as well as an Index of the same (**Or. 6674**). It contains 137 chapters, each devoted to one of the "Names" of God.

(١٧) مُسْتَيْقِظ

The *Mustayqidh* ("Sleeper awakened"), by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal. Of this work the British Museum possesses five MSS., *viz.* **Or. 5111, Or. 6251, Or. 6254, Or. 6257** and **Or. 6329.** This book is interesting on account of its opening passage (in Persian) wherein Ṣubḥ-i-Azal relates his conversion, and also on account of its denunciations of Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Khúy, known as *Janáb-i-Dayyán*, a prominent follower of the Báb, who, after the death of the latter, laid claim to the supreme authority in the Bábí community, and was by some of them drowned in the Tigris or Euphrates, as mentioned by Gobineau[1]. That he had a certain following appears from references to the "*Asadiyyún*" by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, who not only reviles him in the coarsest language, but expresses surprise that his adherents "sit silent in their places and do not transfix him with their spears," or "rend his bowels with their hands." The translation of the opening passage, as copied by Dr Aḥmad Khán, is as follows:

"O brothers in the Faith! I had been asleep all my life, and was of all in my family the meanest and most illiterate, nor was there anyone to awaken me from sleep, until one day I stirred in this world of slumber, awoke from sleep, and saw a number of persons striving, struggling and contending; and who had strife and war amongst them. I asked, 'O people, what is the cause of your strife?' They replied, 'Hast thou then not heard that the Resurrection has come, and that the Two Lights are united in one garment[2]?' 'No,' I answered, 'I have not heard it. And

[1] *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 277—8. See also Vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 331, 357 and 365.

[2] Meaning 'Alí and Muḥammad, whose names and virtues were combined in 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb.

have ye, who lay claim to this station, any proof?' They answered, 'Infinite [proofs],' and thereon gave me a book in the beginning of which was written *Aḥsanu'l-Qiṣaṣ wa Qayyúmu'l-Asmá*[1]. I asked, 'Have you any further proof?' They replied, 'Many,' and [gave me] other books, some corresponding to verses [of the *Qur'án*] and similar to the Heavenly Scriptures, but better; others corresponding to prayers, tracts and homilies[2]. When I had read these books, a great disquiet and trouble arose within me. Then I asked, 'Have ye a *Walí*[3] who will be your guide and pilot after your Master?' They replied, 'Yes, and he is now alive, possessing ample proofs and cogent signs.' I said, 'Give me a book that I may understand the truth of the matter.' Then they gave me the '*Book of Light*,' which comprises more than 25,000 verses. It was at this juncture that I met with a party who called themselves *Asadiyyún*[4]." The bulk of the book is in Arabic. It ends abruptly as follows: "Says the sleeper awakened: 'Verily when I reached this place I refrained from further comment on the book.'"

(١٨) نغمات الرّوح

Apart from some further collections of prayers and other religious formulae (**Or. 5493**, **Or. 5495** of the British Museum) the only other important work by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal of which I have knowledge is the *Naghamátu'r-Rúḥ* ("Melodies of the Spirit"). Of this I have two manuscripts (**A. 40**

[1] That is the Báb's well-known *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf*. For description, see *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 261—8.

[2] *i.e.* in each of the "Five Grades" recognized by the Bábís.

[3] *i.e.* a Saint or Successor to a Prophet.

[4] *Asadís*, *i.e.* followers of the above-mentioned Mírzá Asadu'lláh, entitled *Janáb-i-Dayyán*, and denounced by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal as *Abu'sh-Shurúr*, "the Father of Malice."

and **B. 35**), both, unfortunately, representing the second volume only. The work is entirely in Arabic, and takes the form of a commentary on a text which is overlined, and to each citation from which is prefixed the word قوله ("his saying"). There is no division of the book into chapters or sections, and it appears devoid of historical interest.

(D) Works by Mullá Rajab 'Alí *Qahír* and other Azalís.

Amongst the followers of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal who have written books still extant the earliest is probably Mullá Rajab 'Alí *Qahír*[1], who was assassinated at Karbalá by Náṣir the Arab, one of the followers of Bahá'u'lláh[2]. I possess one MS. of his writings which was sent to me from Persia in February, 1913. It consists of an Arabic preface, superior in point of style and correctness to most of the Bábí writings in that language, and four chapters written in Persian. The main purpose of the book appears to be to prove the legitimacy of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's claim to succeed the Báb as Supreme Pontiff of the Faith. It contains numerous quotations from the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, and many more from various writings of the Báb, these latter being mostly in Arabic.

The Azalís, in spite of the paucity of their numbers, have produced several remarkable men, some of whom have been

[1] *Qahír* and Rajab 'Alí are numerically equal, the sum of the letters composing each being 315.

[2] See Vol. ii of the *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 356, 359, 363, 371. Mullá Rajab 'Alí's sister was the Báb's second wife. She died only a short time ago (Ṣafar 14, A.H. 1335 = Dec. 10, 1916) at the advanced age of 84.

writers, but even these have not, as a rule, written much on religion, or, if they have done so, their works have remained hidden amongst their immediate sympathisers. It is a remarkable fact that several very prominent supporters of the Persian Constitutional Movement were, or had the reputation of being, Azalís; among them two victims of the *coup d'état* of June 23, 1908, Mírzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz, editor of the *Ṣúr-i-Isráfíl*, and the *Maliku'l-Mutakallimín*, a notable orator of the Nationalist party, while others cannot be named because they are still living. Amongst the protagonists of the National movement were three men, all put to death at Tabríz on July 17, 1896, two of whom, Ḥajji Shaykh Aḥmad *Rúḥí* and Mírzá Áqá Khán, both of Kirmán, were not only Azalís but sons-in-law of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal[1]. Both of these men were scholars and writers. The former was the translator into Persian of Morier's *Hájji Bábá*, subsequently published in India by Colonel Phillott and widely used as a text-book for colloquial Persian; and he also translated *Gil Blas*, but this, I think, has not been printed. Mírzá Áqá Khán was on the staff of the Constantinople *Akhtar* ("Star"), in its day one of the best Persian papers published, and was also the author of several poems such as the *Sálárìyya* (of which an expurgated edition, omitting the vituperation of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh[2], was subsequently published at the instance of the *Farmán-farmá*); the *Náma-i-Bástán* ("Book of the Ancients"), an imitation of the *Sháhnáma*, embodying some account of the historical Achaemenian kings, of whom, of course, Firdawsi knew nothing; an imitation of Sa'di's *Gulistán* entitled *Kitáb-i-Rizwán*; a prose

[1] See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 93—96.

[2] Samples of these vituperative passages taken from the *History of the Awakening of the Persians*, are cited on pp. 409—414 of my *Persian Revolution*.

history entitled *Á'ína-i-Sikandarí* ("the Mirror of Alexander"); two volumes of an imaginary correspondence between two fictitious Princes, Kamálu'd-Dawla of Dihlí and Jalálu'd-Dawla of Persia; and sundry other tracts existing only in manuscript and very rare even in that form. On Bábí doctrine and history, so far as I know, he wrote nothing.

The imaginary correspondence between Prince Kamálu'd-Dawla and Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla is contained in two separate volumes, of which manuscript copies were sent me as literary curiosities by a Bábí copyist in Ṭihrán in the year 1912. One of them, though entitled "Copy of three letters written by the noble Prince Kamálu'd-Dawla of India," etc., is, in fact, one unbroken diatribe against the Arabs, Islám and the post-Muḥammadan dynasties of Persia, amongst whom, curiously enough, he holds up the Ṣafawís to special execration because of the schism in Islám which they fomented, and because of their encouragement of the Shí'ite doctors, such as Mullá Muḥammad Báqir and Mír Dámád, who, together with the mystics and *darwíshes*, are the objects of his especial censure. He is filled with admiration for the ancient Persians, and has an exaggerated admiration for the Zoroastrian religion (of which in fact he appears to know very little), ascribing all the misfortunes and miseries of modern Persia to the "barbarous lizard-eating Arabs." He makes great display of his knowledge of Europe; talks of "when I was in Paris" and "when I was in London"; fills his sentences with French words, a score of which he explains in the Preface, pretending that they cannot be translated into Persian; and has a passion for the most extravagant popular etymologies. Not only does he seek to prove the close affinity of the Persian with the French language by comparing *jeune* with *juwán*; *mort* with *murda*; *père* with *pidar*; *porté* with *burda*; *apporté* with *áwurda*; *dent* with *dindán*; and *lèvre*

with *lab*; he identifies the last syllable of the name of the town of *Ardabíl* with the French *ville*, and demands the expulsion from Persian of all Arabic words, which, according to his view, have prevented his mother-tongue from taking the same position in the East that its "Western sister" has attained in Europe. He gives a graphic description of certain unrecorded horrors of the great persecution of the Bábís in 1852, and expresses admiration at their revolt against Islám, but regrets that they also succumbed to the general atmosphere of mysticism and *ḥashísh*-inspired metaphysics. Of Bahá'u'lláh he speaks with contempt and aversion, while of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal he makes no mention. A very graphic picture of Persian misgovernment and of the methods of exaction practised by provincial Governors is given in a dialogue between one *Súsmáru'd-Dawla* ("the Lizard of the Empire") and the *Kalántar*, or mayor, of his new government. The whole book is, in spite of its grotesque exaggerations, depressing to the last degree. It was apparently composed in 1280/1863–4.

The second volume of this imaginary correspondence is entitled "Copy of one hundred Letters written by the noble Prince Kamálu'd-Dawla of Dihlí, whose father [ancestor] fled from Persia to the land of India in the time of the Emperor Tímúr, to his valued friend Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla of Persia, describing the desolation thereof" [*i.e.* of Persia]. As a matter of fact the volume contains not a hundred but only forty-two letters, the last of which breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence. The burden of the whole book is that the Persians are the most wretched, miserable, superstitious and ignoble of mankind, having in ancient and happier days been one of the most fortunate, glorious and talented of nations; and that all this misery is due to the Arab conquest and the introduction of Islám. The book is

wearisome, monotonous and depressing; every class of Persians is reviled and belittled in turn, not only the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, but also the philosophers, mystics, poets, Shaykhís and Babís. The only sects of which he has a good word to say are the followers of Mazdak the communist, who was put to death by Núshírwán the Sásánian, and the Assassins of Alamút, whom he confounds with the Druzes. Indeed in one passage near the end of the book (Letter 41) he goes so far as to say that "the only class of the people of Persia who are excluded from the circle of oppressors and are to be accounted victims consists of those same children in their mothers' wombs on whom fall all the misdeeds of their fathers and mothers, of the King and his subjects, and of the *Mullás* and *Rawẓa-khwáns*."

Another short treatise of 24 pages by Mírzá Áqá Khán, composed soon after Rajab 1, 1310 (= January 19, 1893) bears the curious title of *The Treatise of* "What God will" *in refutation of the Treatise of* "If God will," *composed by Sayyid Burhánu'd-Dín of Balkh.* On the date above mentioned, a festival observed by the Ottoman Turks under the Arabic name of *Laylatu'r-Raghá'ib* and the Turkish name of *Qandíl-geyjesi* ("Lamp-night"), the author attended a reception given in Constantinople by Yúsuf Riẓá Pasha at his house at Beshik-tásh. Amongst the other guests present were the notorious Abu'l-Hudá (astrologer to the late Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd); Aḥmad As'ad Efendi; Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín, called "al-Afghán"; Shaykh Ẓáfir; Shaykhu'r-Ra'ís Abu'l-Ma'álí; Bahjat Bey; and Sayyid Burhánu'd-Dín ibn Shaykh Sulaymán of Balkh, author of the *Jámi'u'l-Muwaddat*, as well as of the tract to which this is a reply. The problem at issue is of a metaphysical character, *viz.* how to reconcile the intelligent use of the formula "If God please" with a belief in Predestination. The general purport

of the reply appears to be that all this metaphysical hair-splitting is one of the symptoms of that general intellectual and moral disorder which in Mírzá Áqá Khán's opinion has been the ruin of the Persians.

This tract is followed by a biography of the above-mentioned Mírzá Áqá Khán copied from the (lithographed) *Ta'ríkh-i-Bídári-yi-Íráníyán* ("History of the Awakening of the Persians") by the *Náẓimu'l-Islám* of Kirmán. He was born in Kirmán in 1270/1853–4, went in 1302/1884–5 to Iṣfahán, and thence to Ṭihrán and Constantinople, where he became the disciple and fellow-worker of Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín "the Afghan." He composed a prose history of Persia, the *A'ína-i-Sikandarí* and a versified history, the *Náma-i-Bástán*, while imprisoned at Trebizonde, completing the latter on January 26, 1896. An expurgated and emended edition of the *Náma-i-Bástán*, edited by Mírzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz, was lithographed by the command and at the cost of the *Farmán-farmá* in 1315/1897–8. As already stated, Mírzá Áqá Khán was put to death at Tabríz, together with his comrades Shaykh Aḥmad-i-*Rúḥí* of Kirmán and Mírzá Ḥasan Khán *Khabíru'l-Mulk*, on July 17, 1896.

To Shaykh Aḥmad-i-*Rúḥí* of Kirmán we are indebted, at any rate so far as the final recension is concerned (for as to the original authorship some doubt prevails), for the only attempt with which I am acquainted to elaborate a comprehensive philosophy of the Bábí doctrine, both theoretical and practical. Of this work, which comprises two volumes, I possess two manuscripts, one of which is described at some length in my *Catalogue of Bábí MSS.* (*J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 680—697). Some of the historical contents were also utilized in the Appendix to Vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 351—373. The book deserves a more detailed and systematic study than I have yet been able to give it, but

I am disposed to think that the author has imported into it a system and a number of ideas peculiar to himself and foreign to the Báb's thought.

I possess in manuscript two other incomplete works of the same author. One, entitled *Ta'ríkh-i-Muqaddas-i-Hindí* ("Indian Sacred History"), comprises only 8 ff., appears to be a translation from some Hindú book, and has nothing to do with the Bábís. The other, entitled *Faṣlu'l-Khiṭáb fí Tarjumati Aḥwáli'l-Báb* ("the Decisive Statement as to the Báb's circumstances"), comprises 64 ff. and ends abruptly in the middle of Section iii. The book should contain four sections and a conclusion, as follows:

Section i (ff. 2^b—24^b). Account of the Báb.

Section ii (ff. 25^a—55^b). Historical and rational arguments employed by the Bábís against their adversaries.

Section iii (ff. 56^a—64^b, where the MS. ends). On the superiority of the Code of the *Bayán* to all other codes and systems.

[*Section iv.* On the Laws and Ordinances of the *Bayán*, and the mysteries underlying them.

Conclusion. What results will be seen in the twenty-first century of the Christian era if the Báb's religion and laws should be generally accepted.]

This book professes to be a translation from an Italian work by Luigi Bonelli of Naples, but of such a work by this Orientalist (if it exist at all) I have no knowledge. Though on a smaller scale, this book in its general tone and plan resembles the *Hasht Bihisht* already mentioned.

The same Shaykh Aḥmad of Kirmán has also contributed the third portion of a composite treatise highly esteemed by the Azalís of Persia and known as the *Tanbíhu'n-Ná'imín* ("the Awakening of the Sleepers"). This comprises three

parts: (1) a letter from 'Abbás Efendi ('Abdu'l-Bahá) to his aunt, known as *Khánim-i-Buzurg* ("the Great Lady") urging her to believe in Bahá'u'lláh and to abjure her other half-brother Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, to whom she inclines; (2) a long and caustic reply to this from the aforesaid *Khánim-i-Buzurg*, containing a considerable amount of interesting historical and biographical matter about the Bábís, especially during the Baghdád period, and the schism between the Bahá'ís and Azalís; this portion of the book being commonly called *Risála-i-'Amma* ("the Aunt's Epistle"); (3) a homily (*khuṭba*) in Arabic followed by a Refutation (*Risála-i-Raddiyya*) in Persian, both by Shaykh Aḥmad of Kirmán. Of these three pieces "the Aunt's Epistle" is much the longest, occupying pp. 23—214 of my manuscript[1], while 'Abbás Efendi's letter occupies pp. 1—22, and Shaykh Aḥmad's two tracts, together with a brief introductory notice of him, pp. 215—266. "The Aunt's Epistle" is remarkable for its vigour, and for the knowledge of Bábí history, Muḥammadan theology, and even Hindú beliefs which it displays. It scoffs at Bahá'u'lláh's pretensions, quotes with derision some of the poetry he apparently composed, and staunchly supports Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's claims, but nevertheless admits, while condoning, his responsibility for the death of Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Khúy, known as *Janáb-i-Dayyán*, and later branded as *Abu'sh-Shurúr*, "the Father of Evils." This Epistle, which deserves publication or at least translation, was apparently composed soon after A.H. 1300 (A.D. 1883).

تذكره الغافلين

Tadhkiratu'l-Ghafilín ("the Reminder of the Heedless"), an anonymous Azalí work, apparently composed by a Bábí

[1] I have a second MS. of the same work in which the three portions occupy pp. 1—16, 17—154, and 154—199 respectively.

of Niráq, endeavouring to prove, by quotations from various writings of the Báb, beginning with the *Aḥsanu'l-Qiṣaṣ*, or commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*[1], that Mírzá Yaḥyá was duly appointed by the Báb as his successor, and that the rival claims of his half-brother Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá'u'lláh are unfounded and untenable. The manuscript, written in a clear *naskh*, comprises 228 pages, is dated Ṣafar 8, A.H. 1331 (= Jan. 17, 1913) and was sent to me in the following month by the Bábí scribe to whom I am indebted for so many interesting works and documents.

قصیدهٔ الفیّهٔ میرزا اسلم نوری در اصطلاحات اهل بیان مشتمل بر نوزده واحد

The *Qaṣída-i-Alifiyya*, or Qaṣida rhyming throughout in *alif*, of Mírzá Aslam of Núr, comprising 19 "Unities" (*Wáḥid*), explaining the terminology employed by the "People of the Bayán," or Bábís.

Concerning the author I have been unable to discover any particulars, but he is evidently an Azalí, and, being from Núr in Mázandarán, is a fellow-countryman of both Azal and Bahá'u'lláh. The poem is incomplete, breaking off after the 8th verse of the 11th *Wáḥid* or "Unity." Each *Wáḥid*, in the usual Bábí fashion, comprises 19 verses. The titles of the 11 extant "Unities" are in Arabic as follows:

(١) فی التوحید و التنزیه

(٢) فی ظهوراته فی الآفاق و الأنفس

(٣) فی انّ العشق علّة وجود الاشیاء

(٤) فی انّ حسین بن علیّ کانوا ظهور العشق فی الدورة المحمّدیّة

[1] See pp. 202—3 *supra*.

(٥) فی انّ الولایة المطلقة العلویّة الکلّیّة المهدویّة فی هذه الدّورة کان ظهورًا اعظم و اتمّ للعشق و الحسن اعنی نقطة البیان روح ما سواه فداه،

(٦) فی مناقب نقطة الحقیقة صاحب البیان،

(٧) فی فضایل اصحاب النقطة علیهم السلام،

(٨) فی بیان حروف الحیّ و ادلّائه سلام الله علیهم،

(٩) فی سریان الواحد فی کلّ الأمور و الاحکام و علیه مدار التوحید فی الشریعة الحقّة،

(١٠) فی منقبة وصیّ البیان ثمرة الازلیّة صلوات الله علیه،

(١١) فی بیان صعق القیامة و اختلافات النّاس بعد غروب الشّمس و فیه اشارة الی الفتنة العمیاء و الدهماء الصّیلم،

The poem begins:

ای از همه سرها ز سویدای تو سودا،
خود رستهٔ از نکتهٔ لا آلت الّا،

(E) Bahá'í Controversial Works.

I pass over Bahá'u'lláh's *Testament* (کتاب عهدی) and *Tablet of Good Tidings* (لوح بشارات), of both of which I possess very correct copies transmitted to me from 'Akká, because they have been printed in the original and translated into Russian by Tumanski (see p. 187 *supra*, No. 42), and

also the original Arabic MS. of the *Life of Bahá'u'lláh* by Muḥammad Jawád of Qazwín, the translation of which forms the basis of the present work.

Another treatise in Persian by the same writer, of which, unfortunately, I possess only the last half (pp. 16—31), deserves, however, a brief notice. It was concluded on Ṣafar 7, A.H. 1319 (= May 25, 1901), and is a denunciation of 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá and his alleged misdeeds. The fragment begins in the middle of an account of his withdrawal to Ṭabariyya (Tiberias), apparently in the fourth year after Bahá'u'lláh's death (May 1895–May 1896), and the motives which prompted it; and this is followed by an account of the final rupture between 'Abbás Efendi and his brothers, leading to a complete suspension of friendly relations between them. Under the fifth year (May 1896–May 1897) is recounted the harsh treatment meted out by 'Abbás Efendi and his partisans to Mírzá Áqá Ján of Káshán, better known as *Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh* ("His Reverence the Servant of God") on May 28, 1897, the fifth anniversary of Bahá'u'lláh's death; an event described in great detail in the lithographed tract entitled "the Terrible Episode of the ...Blessed Mausoleum" which has been already mentioned on pp. 197—8 (No. 18) *supra*. Next follows an account of 'Abbás Efendi's harsh repulse of a certain Ḥájji Sayyid 'Alí Lawásání, who wished to bring to his notice a document emanating from Bahá'u'lláh, and his command that no "Tablet," even if in Bahá'u'lláh's own writing, should be accepted unless sealed and confirmed by himself. The events chronicled in 1898 include the stoppage by 'Abbás Efendi of his brothers' allowances on January 9, and the death and burial of his brother Mírzá Ẓiyá'u'lláh on October 30, on which occasion, according to our author's account, 'Abbás Efendi showed an indifference and lack of considera-

tion which astonished even the Christian and Muḥammadan inhabitants of 'Akká. The attempted abduction of Ẓiyá'u 'lláh's widow and its frustration are next recorded, and the intrigues by which Ḥájji Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí *Afnán* (a kinsman of the Báb and son-in-law to Bahá'u'lláh) was prevented from selling an estate of his at Ḥayfá for the benefit of 'Abbás Efendi's younger brothers. Actual charges of embezzlement are formulated against 'Abbás Efendi, who is alleged to have spent for private ends sums of money collected by the American believers for the relief of the poor. The death of Mírzá Áqá Ján (*Janáb-i-Khádimu'lláh*) on May 5, 1901, at the age of seventy years, is next recorded, and it is asserted that not only did 'Abbás Efendi and his partisans refrain from attending the funeral, but that they openly manifested their delight. Here ends the tract, which, as already noted, was written only three weeks after the event last mentioned.

Another small tract, apparently by the same author, dated A.H. 1316 (A.D. 1898–9), and written shortly after Ẓiyá'u'lláh's death, is even more bitter in tone, and ends as follows: "In conclusion, since cursing and reviling have been forbidden in this Most Mighty Manifestation, therefore the writer recites and sets down in writing the verse revealed in the *Qur'án* (xi, 21): '*Shall not the Curse of God be upon the cruel people?*'"

Written from the same point of view as the above (that of a follower of Bahá'u'lláh who, after his death, adhered to Muḥammad 'Alí and repudiated 'Abbás Efendi), but much more extensive and important, is a MS. of 291 + 7 pp. composed about 1913 by Sayyid Mahdí of Dahaj (near Shahr-i-Bábak) in reply to my Persian Introduction to Ḥájji Mírzá Jání's *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf*, published in 1910 in the *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series* (Vol. xv).

The author was born at Yazd on May 19, 1836, and was therefore eight years of age at the time of the "Manifestation" of the Báb, whose religion he embraced at the early age of thirteen. The Báb himself he never met, but he saw Sayyid Yaḥyá of Dáráb (*Janáb-i-Waḥíd-i-Awwal*), one of the most notable early Bábís and martyrs, when he visited Yazd. At the age of twenty-two (about A.D. 1858) he went to Baghdád, at that time the head-quarters of the Bábís, intending to see Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, whom he found living in great seclusion and as far as possible avoiding all intercourse with his fellows. By Bahá'u'lláh, on the other hand, he was greatly impressed, and, when he claimed to be "He whom God shall manifest," became his disciple, and remained "under his shadow" for thirty-five years, until his death (in 1892) twenty-three lunar years before the time of writing.

As one who had been a believer almost from the beginning, the author was repeatedly urged by his friends and co-religionists to write a history of the Bábí movement, but he declined, considering himself unequal to the task. He consented, however, to write his autobiography, in which, owing to his close and life-long relations with the leading spirits of the new religion, much information on this subject would incidentally be given. On this autobiography he was actually engaged, and had carried it down to the 17th year after Bahá'u'lláh's death (A.D. 1909), when his son Mírzá Ḥasan brought him a copy of my edition of Ḥájji Mírzá Jání's history of the Báb, composed in 1853, only three years after the Báb's martyrdom. Having read my Introduction to this work, in which I endeavoured fairly to state the case as between the followers of Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, he was moved to lay aside his autobiography in order to criticize my arguments and conclusions, and this book is the result. It is written with a wide knowledge of the facts,

and a thorough acquaintance with the earlier as well as the later Bábí writings, and is remarkable for its courteous and reasonable tone. It is, indeed, by far the best Bahá'í apology which I have met with, and is very rich in information not to be found elsewhere. Unfortunately it ends abruptly at the point where the author proposed to discuss in detail the Azalís mentioned on p. 43 of my Introduction to Ḥájji Mírzá Jání's history as having been assassinated by Bahá'ís. In a note written in red ink in the margin the author says that there is a continuation of the book which he hopes to send subsequently, but this, unfortunately, has never been received. In a separate postscript of seven pages he offers some observations on the much-discussed proceedings of Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh (*Janáb-i-Quddús*) and Qurratu'l-'Ayn at Badasht on their way from Khurásán to Mázandarán.

It is impossible in this brief note to do justice to this remarkable book, which contains many particulars not to be found elsewhere. For instance, in discussing (on p. 179) my allusion to the "stationary" Bábís called "*Kullu-Shay'í*," the author describes and names the small group at Yazd of whom they consisted, their leader being Mírzá Ja'far the shoe-maker (*kaffásh*), whose chief followers were Sayyid Isma'íl the dyer (*ṣabbágh*) and Mírzá Sulaymán the builder (*banná*). These he had taken the trouble to visit, and found them ignorant men and smokers of opium.

This, perhaps, is the best place in which to make mention of a collection (now mounted in an album) of some of the letters written to me at different dates between July, 1889, and October, 1911, by Mírzá Yaḥyá Ṣubḥ-i-Azal and his sons and followers on the one hand, and by 'Abbas Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá and his brothers and followers on the other. These are briefly as follows:

A. From Azalís.

I. *From Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.* (1) July 29, 1889. (2) Oct. 1, 1889. (3) Dec. 3, 1889. (4) Jan. 7, 1890. (5) March or April, 1890. (6 & 7) Two undated letters. (8) April or May, 1890. (9) Nov. 25, 1890. (10) Jan. 20, 1891. (11) May 26, 1891. (12) Aug. 18, 1891. (13) Nov. 17, 1891. (14) Jan. 25, 1892. (15) March 15, 1892. (16) May 17, 1896.

II. *From Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son 'Abdu'l-Alí.* (1) May, 1890. (2) Jan. 20, 1891. (3) May 26, 1891. (4) Aug. 18, 1896. (5) May 17, 1896. (6) June 5, 1896.

III. *From Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son Riẓwán 'Alí.* (1) May 17, 1896.

IV. *From Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's nephew Rúḥu'lláh.* (1) May 17, 1896.

V. *From Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's follower 'Abdu'l-Aḥad of Zanján* (including several poems composed by himself and also a narrative of the siege of Zanján in A.D. 1850, written from his own recollections, of which I published a translation in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1897, pp. 761—827). (1) May, 1890. (2) Dec. 8, 1890. (3) May 26, 1891. (4) Aug. 18, 1891. (5) Nov. 17, 1891. (6) May 17, 1896.

VI. *From Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's follower Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad Ja'far of Kirmán, the brother of Shaykh Aḥmad "Rúḥí" of Kirmán.* (1) July 4, 1896.

B. From Bahá'ís.

I. *From 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá, eldest son of Bahá'u'lláh.* (1) Aug. 4, 1890. (2) April 3, 1891. (3) April

8, 1891. (4) Aug. 19, 1891, containing account of the Yazd persecution. (5) March 24, 1893. (6) Feb. 1, 1901. (7) April 8, 1901. (8) March 28, 1903. (9) Christmas, 1903. (10) June 20, 1904. (11) Sept. 7, 1911. (12) Oct. 1911. (13) Feb. 9, 1913 (from Paris).

II. *From Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, son of Bahá'u'lláh.* (1) April 3, 1901.

III. *From Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, son of Bahá'u'lláh.* (1) June 11, 1890. (2) Aug. 20, 1890, enclosing a "Tablet." (3) Oct. 2, 1890. (4) July 24, 1891. (5) August, 1891, on the persecution at Yazd. (6) Feb. 17, 1892. (7) July 25, 1892, announcing Bahá'u'lláh's death. (8) Feb. 4, 1903. Circular letter announcing his repentance at having supported his brother Muḥammad 'Alí against 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá. (9) March 11, 1903. Private letter of recantation in the same sense as the preceding one. (10) Sept. 25, 1909.

IV. *From Mírzá Ẓiyá'u'lláh, son of Bahá'ulláh.* (1) April 30, 1890. (2) Sept. 3, 1890.

V. *From Ḥájji Sayyid 'Alí "Afnán," a kinsman of the Báb and follower of Bahá'u'lláh, after whose death he first followed Muḥammad 'Alí, but later, in February, 1903, renounced his allegiance to him and transferred it to 'Abbás Efendi 'Abdu'l-Bahá.* (1) Aug. 20, 1890. (2) Oct. 13, 1890. (3) July 30, 1891. (4) July 2, 1902. (5) Feb. 4, 1903. Circular letter of recantation and repentance.

VI. *From Ḥájji Muḥammad 'Alí Yazdí, Persian merchant and Bahá'í agent resident in Egypt, by whom most of the above letters were transmitted.* (1) May 31, 1890. (2) June 21, 1890. (3) Aug. 12, 1890. (4) Aug. 25, 1890. (5) Sept. 9, 1890. (6) Oct. 4, 1890. (7) Oct. 19, 1890. (8) Dec. 2, 1890. (9) Dec. 6, 1890. (10) April 7, 1891.

(11) July 27, 1891. (12) Aug. 29, 1891. (13) Sept. 8, 1891, forwarding account of persecution of Bábís at Yazd in the previous summer. (14) Dec. 23, 1891. (15) Feb. 22, 1892. (16) April 25, 1892. (17) May 11, 1892. (18) June 28, 1892. (19) April 20, 1893. (20) Feb. 3, 1901. (21) April 18, 1901.

VII. *From Ḥájji Sayyid Muḥammad Taqí Manshadí, Bahá'í agent at Ḥayfá.* (1) March 28, 1903. (2) April 4, 1903.

VIII. *From Aḥmad-i-Yazdí, Bahá'í agent at Port Said.* (1) Dec. 16, 1903. (2) Jan. 26, 1904.

IX. *From Ḥusayn-i-Yazdí, copy of an account of the persecution of Bábís at Yazd in the early summer of* 1891. (1) May 14, 1891.

X. *From Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Isfahán, Bahá'í missionary in America.* (1) March 22, 1902. (2) April 21, 1902, enclosing copy of "Tablet" (*Lawḥ*) revealed at Adrianople.

XI. *From Amínu'lláh, son of the above.* (1) April 21, 1902.

XII. *From Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn, known as Áqá Kúchak, of Shíráz.* (1) March 16, 1896, enclosing lithographed appeal on behalf of Bahá'ís.

XIII. *From Muḥammad Jawád of Qazwín, author of the biography of Bahá'u'lláh translated in this volume, and, after Bahá'u'lláh's death, one of the chief followers of Muḥammad 'Alí.* (1) April 4, 1901. (2) July 28, 1901. (3) Sept. 7, 1901. (4) Oct. 14, 1901. (5) April 14, 1902. (6) July 5, 1902. (7) Oct. 22, 1902.

XIV. *From Mírzá Ghulámu'lláh of Qazwín, son of the above, Bahá'í missionary in America.* (1) March 19, 1901,

from New York. (2) April 10, 1901, from New York. (3) April 17, 1902, from Cork. (4) Aug. 10, 1902, from Cork. (5) Nov. 11, 1902, from London. (6) Nov. 22, 1902, from London.

XV. *Undated circular letter from Baḥru'l-'Ulúm of Kirmán to the Azalís, sent to me by the (Azalí) Bábí scribe of Isfahán in June*, 1913.

XVI. *From 'Azízu'lláh, a Bahá'í Jew of Bukhárá.* (1) May 24, 1892. (2) May 25, 1892. (3) June 24, 1892.

A good many other letters from the correspondents above mentioned are bound up with manuscripts which accompanied them. I have also some photographic *facsimiles* of letters of a more general character from 'Abbás Efendi.

(F) Bábí Historical Works.

I need only allude to the publication *in extenso* of Ḥájji Mírzá Jání of Káshán's *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf* in the *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series* (Vol. xv, 1910), of which, as the earliest extant account of the Báb and his contemporaries by one of the first believers and martyrs, it is impossible to overestimate the importance and interest. Of the very interesting criticisms on my Introduction to this work by another early Bábí, Sayyid Mahdí of Dahaj, who wrote only three or four years ago I have already spoken (pp. 231—3 *supra*); as well as of Mírzá Muḥammad Jawád of Qazwín's two treatises, one in Arabic, translated in full in this volume, and another in Persian, of which unhappily I possess only the latter half (pp. 230—1 *supra*). The only writings of this class which it remains to notice here in somewhat greater detail are three short monographs on the Bábí insurrection in Mázandarán

and the siege of Shaykh Ṭabarsí, sent to me in October, 1912, by the Bábí scribe to whom I have already had occasion to allude repeatedly.

(1) The first of these monographs, entitled *Waqáyi'-i-Mímiyya*, or "Events [in the Land] of M." (*i.e.* Mázandarán) is by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Hádí of Zuwára, poetically surnamed *Mahjúr*. It appears to have been composed in the fifth year of the Manifestation of the Báb (A.H. 1265 = A.D. 1848–9). This date is followed by the date A.H. 1278 (= A.D. 1861–2), which must be the date of transcription of the original from which this copy, which is quite modern, was made. The narrative was compiled at the request of the mother and sister of Mullá Ḥusayn of Bushrawayh, entitled *Janáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*, and is based, in part at least, on the account of one of the few survivors amongst the insurgents, Ḥájji 'Abdu'l-Majíd ibn Ḥájji Muḥammad of Níshápúr. This part of the MS. comprises 91 pages.

The careers of *Janáb-i-Quddús* and *Janáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb* are briefly sketched from A.H. 1261 (A.D. 1845), the year after the Manifestation, but the detailed narrative begins on Sha'bán 19, 1264 (July 21, 1848) with the departure of the former and his followers from Mashhad westwards on the journey which ended at Shaykh Ṭabarsí. The number of Bábís who entered Mázandarán was 318, of whom Iṣfahán supplied 40, Ardistán 7, Shíráz 8, Kirmán 3, Mashhad 22, Bushrawayh 24 (some say 40), Qum 12, Turbat 5, Herát 14, Turshíz 10, Kákhak 4, Mayámí 14, Qá'in 4, Ṭihrán 9, Káshán 6, Karbalá 5, Qazwín 10, Hamadán 6, Tabríz 5, Zanján 12, Kirmánsháh 3, Bárfurúsh 4 (some say 40, some 60), Sang-i-sar 10, Sháh Mírzár (?) 9, Ámul 2, Shaykh Ṭabarsí 2, Khúy 3, Kand 2, Yazd 3, Sháhrúd 3, Turkey in Asia (Rúm) 3, India 4. The narrative of the siege of Shaykh

Ṭabarsí, which lasted from about August, 1848, to April, 1849, is given in great detail, and in general outline agrees with the account given by Ḥajji Mírzá Jání and in the *New History* (pp. 45 *et seqq.* of my translation). In many cases the author gives the authority (*isnád*) for his statements, mentioning the name of his informant.

(2) The second monograph (pp. 92—110), written partly in verse, partly in prose, is by the same Sayyid Ḥusayn "Mahjúr," and describes the death or "martyrdom" of Mullá Ḥusayn of Bushrawayh, variously entitled *Bábu'l-Báb*, *Qá'im-i-Khurásání* and *Sulṭán Manṣúr*. It is entitled:

مجلسِ شهادتِ اوّل من آمن قائم خراسانی که باب الباب هم خطاب شده‌اند و سلطان منصور هم خطاب شده‌اند من تصانیف و انشاءات آقا سیّد حسین المتخلّص بمهجور مصنّف هذا الکتاب'

It begins with 23 verses of poetry of which the first is:

بازم آمد شور دیگر بر سرم' عقل با عشق در نزاع اندر برم'

The whole composition is in the style used by the *rawẓa-khwáns* who celebrate in the month of Muḥarram the sufferings of the Imáms. The pieces of poetry with which the narrative is ornamented are in various metres. The colophon is dated Ramaẓán 21, 1330 (September 3, 1912).

(3) The third monograph, comprising 128 pp., contains another account of the Mázandarán insurrection by Luṭf 'Alí Mírzá, a Prince of the Qájár house. This, at least, is the opinion of the sender (the Bábí scribe already so often mentioned) as to its authorship, of which the manuscript

itself gives no indication, though written throughout in the first person as the autobiography of one who took part in the events narrated. Thus it begins:

دوازدهم شهر رمضان سنه ۱۲٦٤ چون این ذرّهٔ بی بهاء بعد از مراجعت از خدمت مبدء اعلا روانهٔ ارض خاء شدم در منزلی که آنرا دِه ملّا مینامند که از محالّ دامغان بوده باشد بتراب بوسی تراب اقدام حضرت باب سلام الله علیه مشرّف شدم دیدهٔ رمد دیدهٔ خودرا بنور جمال ایشان منوّر نمودم و بخدمت احباب مشرّف گردیدم.

"On the twelfth of Ramaẓán, A.H. 1264 (= August 12, 1848), when this worthless atom, after returning from waiting upon the Supreme Source[1], set out for the Land of Khá (*i.e.* Khurásán), I had the honour of kissing the dust at the feet of His Holiness the Báb[2] (upon whom be the Peace of God) at a station named Dih-i-Mullá, one of the dependencies of Dámghán, and illuminated my dimmed eyes with the light of his comeliness, and had the honour of waiting on the Friends[3]."

The narrative is very detailed, but appears to be incomplete, ending about two months before the final tragedy, *i.e.* in February, 1849. There is no colophon or date at the end, and the work has no apparent title.

[1] *i.e.* the Báb or Nuqṭa, who was then imprisoned at Mákú.

[2] *i.e.* Mullá Ḥusayn of Bushrawayh, to whom the original Báb transferred this title when he himself took the higher one of "the Point" (*Nuqṭa*). Mullá Ḥusayn is also, with less risk of confusion, entitled (as in the previously described narrative) *Bábu'l-Báb*, "the Gate of the Gate."

[3] *i.e.* the other Bábís, the disciples and followers of Mullá Ḥusayn.

In this connection I should like to cite the following note by Captain C. F. Mackenzie, from an unpublished record of his journey from Rasht to Astarábád in 1859, communicated to me on October 10, 1913, by Mr H. L. Rabino, H. B. M. Consul at Casablanca in Morocco, formerly at Rasht in Persia.

"*Bábí revolt in Mázandáran.*

"During this revolt the Bábís took up a fortified position 10 or 12 miles from Bárfurúsh, at the shrine of Shaykh Ṭabarsí, near the river Tálár; they were few in number, but determined and fanatic, and after putting several envoys of the authorities to death, they prepared for a siege by collecting provisions from the neighbouring country; whenever the villagers hesitated or refused to give what they required, their houses were burnt about their ears.

"Their numbers gradually increased from forty or fifty to between four and five hundred, and their recruits were chiefly men from the district of Sawádkúh. One of these latter was styled Amír-i-Ṭabardár, because his favourite weapon was the *ṭabar*, a poleaxe, from which the former name of the province Ṭabaristán was derived.

"Hostilities commenced by an attack made by Áqá 'Abdu'lláh Surtej, with 200 Hazár-Jaríb *tufangchís*. His camp was surprised by the Bábís the day after his arrival, and he and forty or fifty of his men were slain. The remainder fled to Sárí, and on receipt of orders from Ṭihrán, another body of troops, about 500 strong, was sent to exterminate the Bábís. Their commander was 'Abbás-qulí Khán, who in the first engagement shot Mullá Ḥusayn, the chief of the Bábís, who, before dying, bequeathed his authority to Ḥájji Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshí, and expressed a wish

to be buried with his arms. After his death the Bábís made a desperate sally and put the besiegers to death.

"The insurrection had now become formidable, and Prince Mahdí-quli Mírzá was appointed to suppress it. His troops were 2000 in number and he had both field-artillery and mortars.

"He took up his quarters at a place called Wáskus about two miles from Shaykh Ṭabarsí, and during the night his camp was so invaded by the Bábís that he had barely time to escape by a window and hide himself in the jungle.

"The whole village was on fire; two unlucky Princes, Dáwúd Mírzá and his uncle Ṣáḥib-Qirán Mírzá, perished in the flames, and a great slaughter was made amongst the royal troops.

"Mahdí-quli Mírzá, after wandering about in fear of his life, luckily met with one of his own servants, who, although a fugitive like himself, had a horse upon which the Prince mounted and thus reached 'Alíábád.

"After collecting the scattered remnants of his army and receiving a number of *tufangchís* and other riffraff, he again set about besieging the Bábís, who, although pressed by hunger and ill furnished with ammunition, held out for two months more.

"At the end of this period, the Prince, seeing that he could not take the place and that by driving the rebels to desperation he would run the risk of being defeated a second time, offered them terms.

"He informed them that if they abandoned their position and went away quietly, each man to his own home, they would not be molested.

"The Bábís consented to this arrangement, and came forth to the number of about 200 fighting men. They were

then deprived of their arms, and the greater number, with the usual Asiatic respect for treaties, were massacred on the spot.

"Some victims, amongst whom was their leader Ḥájji Muḥammad 'Alí, were reserved for a more barbarous punishment. They were taken to Bárfurúsh and burnt alive on the Sabzi Maydán (the green plain lying between the town and the Bágh-i-Sháh). Thus ended the Bábí revolt in Mázandarán, after costing about 1500 lives."

IV

FIVE UNPUBLISHED CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS, PERSIAN AND ENGLISH, RELATING TO THE BÁB'S EXAMINATION AT TABRÍZ IN 1848.

In February, 1912, I received from M. Hippolyte Dreyfus, the most eminent and learned European adherent of the Bahá'í doctrine, three photographs of documents connected with the interrogation to which the Báb was subjected at Tabríz in the presence of Náṣiru'd-Dín Mírzá (afterwards Sháh), at that time *Wali-'ahd* or Crown Prince, during the latter days of the reign of Muḥammad Sháh, who died on Sept. 4, 1848. Concerning these documents M. Dreyfus wrote as follows in two letters dated respectively Feb. 4 and Feb. 9, 1912:

(1)

"Cher Monsieur Browne,

"J'ai grand plaisir à vous communiquer les deux documents ci-inclus, sur lesquels je serais très-heureux d'avoir votre opinion.

"Le premier (*A*) est la photographie d'une lettre de Nacer-oud-Dín Mirza (alors *Wali'ahd*) à son père sur un prétendu interrogatoire du Bab à Tabríz. Croyez-vous que ce soit une relation plus ou moins exacte de l'interrogatoire rapporté également dans le *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf*? Ou bien s'agit-il d'un autre interrogatoire?

"Le deuxième (*B*) paraît bien être de l'écriture si caractéristique du Bab, et être adressé au même Nacer-oud-Dín Mirza. Il y nie toute prétention à une 'Cause' (امر) et implore la clémence.

"*B*[1] est la réponse des *Mudjtahids*.

"Croyez-vous ce second document authentique? Il constituerait une seconde amende honorable, après le reniement de Chiraz dont parle Nicolas dans la traduction du *Bayán* persan.

"Je serais très désireux d'avoir votre opinion sur ces documents, que je m'excuse de vous prier de bien vouloir me retourner quand vous les aurez lus, ayant eu grand peine à me les procurer. Il va sans dire que vous pouvez les faire photographier, car j'ai peur que le photographe de Téhéran ne les livre pas volontiers.

"Avec mes meilleures sympathies, croyez moi toujours votre dévoué *H. Dreyfus*. 4. 2. 12."

(2)

"Cher Monsieur,

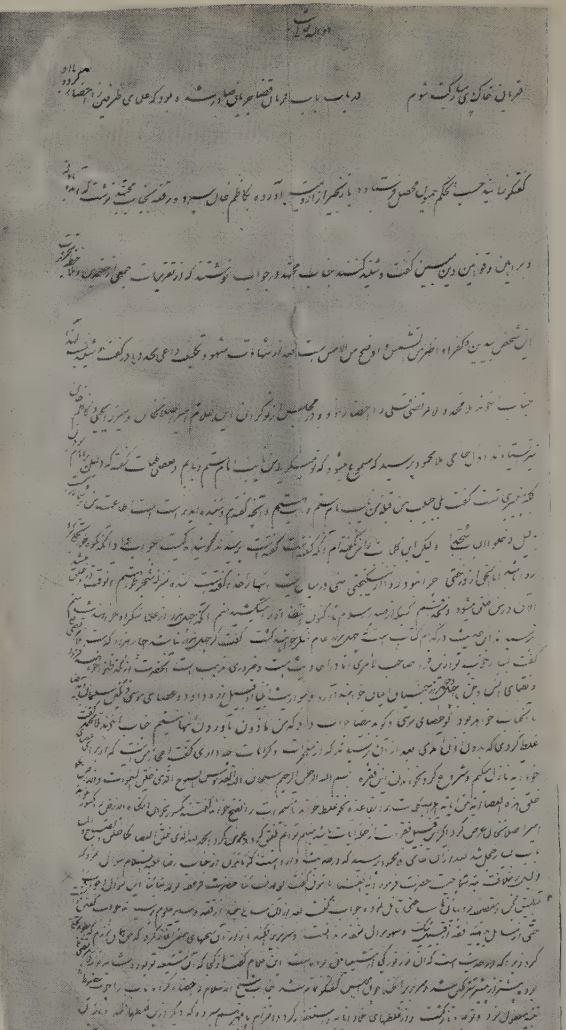
"Après avoir examiné un peu plus attentivement la lettre du Bab, je ne crois pas, vu sa forme, qu'elle soit adressée à Nacer-oud-Dín Mirza, et je me demande si ce n'est pas la lettre adressée au gouverneur de Chiraz dont parle Nicolas dans la préface du *Bayán* persan. Je fais rechercher les noms des *Mudjtahids* de Chiraz, ce qui pourra me fixer.

"En tous cas je serais heureux d'avoir votre opinion.

"Bien cordialement à vous, *H. Dreyfus*. 9. 2. 12."

Here follow the texts and translations of these documents. As regards the first (*A*) it appears certain that the writer of it was Amír Aṣlán Khán (*ín ghulám*, "this servant," as he calls himself), who, as Mírzá Jání informs us, was present at this interrogatory[1], and was maternal uncle to Náṣiru'd-Dín Mírzá, who nominally presided at it. It would appear, from certain expressions used, to be addressed to the then reigning

[1] See my *New History of...the Báb*, p. 287, n. 2 *ad calc.*



Fac-simile of document A.

To face p. 249.

King, Muḥammad Sháh. That it refers to the interrogatory of the Báb at Tabríz is clear from its agreement, as regards the questions asked and the replies given, with the accounts of the same transaction given both by the Bábí and the Muḥammadan historians[1].

A.

هو الله تعالی شأنه

قربان خاك پای مبارکت شوم در بابِ باب فرمان قضا جریان صادر شده بود که علمای طرفَیْن‌را احضار کرده با او گفتگو نمایند، حسب الحکم همایون محصّل فرستاده با زنجیر از ارومیّه آورده بکاظم خان سپرد و رقعه بجناب مجتهد نوشت که آمده بادلّه و براهین و قوانینِ دین مبین گفت و شنید کنند، جناب مجتهد در جواب نوشتند که از تقریراتِ جمعی از معتمدین و ملاحظهء تحریرات این شخص بیدین و کفر او اظهر من الشمس و اوضح من الامس است، بعد از شهادتِ شهود تکلیفِ داعی مجدّدًا در گفت و شنید نیست، لهذا جناب اخوند ملّا محمّد و ملّا مرتضی قلی‌را احضار نمود و در مجلس از نوکران این غلام امیر اصلانخان و میرزا یحیی و کاظم خان نیز ایستادند، اوّل حاجی ملّا محمود پرسید که مسموع میشود که تو میگوئی من نائبِ امام هستم و بابم و بعضی کلمات گفتهء که دلیل بر امام بودن بلکه

[1] These accounts I have combined in Note M at the end of Vol. ii of my edition and translation of the *Traveller's Narrative* (pp. 277—290).

پیغمبریٔ تست ، گفت بلی حبیب من قبلهٔ من نائبِ امام هستم و باب هستم و آنچه گفته‌ام و شنیده اید راست است اطاعتِ من بر شما لازمست بدلیلِ اُدْخُلُوا ٱلْبَابَ سُجَّدًا و لیکن این کلمات‌را من نگفته‌ام آنکه گفته‌است گفته‌است ، پرسیدند گوینده کیست جواب داد آنکه بکوه طور تجلّی کرد

روا باشد انا ٱلحقّ از درختی ، چرا نبود روا از نیکبختی ، منی در میان نیست اینهارا خدا گفته‌است بنده بمنزلهٔ شجرِ طور هستم آنوقت درو خلق میشد الآن در من خلق میشود و بخدا قسم کسیکه از صدر اسلام تا اکنون انتظارِ اورا میکشید منم آنکه چهل هزار از علما منکرِ او خواهند شد منم ، پرسیدند این حدیث در کدام کتاب است که چهل هزار عالم منکر خواهند گشت ، گفت اگر چهل هزار نباشد چهار هزار که هست ، ملّا مرتضی قلی گفت بسیار خوب تو ازین قرار صاحب الأمری امّا در احادیث هست و ضروری مذهب است آنحضرت از مکّه ظهور خواهند فرمود و نقبای انس و جنّ با چهل و پنجهزار جنّیان ایمان خواهند آورد و مواریثِ انبیا از قبیل زرهِ داود و عصای موسی و نگینِ سلیمان و یدِ بیضا با آنجناب خواهد بود ، کو عصای موسی و کو یدِ بیضا ، جواب داد که من مأذون بآوردن اینها نیستم ، جناب اخوند ملّا محمّد گفت غلط کردی که بدون اذن آمدی ، بعد از آن پرسیدند

که از معجزات و کرامات چه داری، گفت اعجازِ من اینست که از برای عصای خود آیه نازل میکنم و شروع کرد بخواندن این فقره:— بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحیم، سبحان الله القدّوس السبّوح الّذی خلق السّموات و الأرض کما خلق هذه العصا آیةً من آیاته، اعراب کلماترا بقاعدهٔ نحو غلط خواند تا سمٰواترا بفتح خواند، گفتند مکسور بخوان آنگاه الارضرا مکسور خواند، امیر اصلانخان عرض کرد اگر این قبیل فقرات از جملهٔ آیات باشد منهم توانم تلفیق کرد و عرض کرد:— الحمد لله الّذی خلق العصا کما خلق الصّباح و المساء، باب بسیار خجل شد، بعد از آن حاجی ملّا محمود پرسید که در حدیث وارد است که مأمون از جناب رضا علیه السلام سؤال نمود که دلیل بر خلافت جدّ شما چیست، حضرت فرمود آیهٔ انفسنا، مأمون گفت لَوْلَا نِسآؤُنَا، حضرت فرمود لَوْلَا أَبْنَآؤُنَا، این سؤال و جوابرا تطبیق بکن و مقصدرا بیان نما، ساعتی تأمّل نموده جواب نگفت، بعد از آن مسائلی چند از فقه و سایرِ علوم پرسیدند، جواب گفتن نتوانست حتّی از مسائل بدیهیّهٔ فقه از قبیل شکّ و سهو سؤال نمودند ندانست و سر بزیر افکند، باز از آن سخنهای بیمعنی آغاز کرد که من همان نورم که بطور تجلّی کرد زیرا که در حدیث است که آن نور نور یکی از شیعیان بوده‌است، این غلام گفت از کجا که آن شیعه تو بود و شاید نور ملّا مرتضی قلی

بوده، بیشتر از پیشتر شرمگین شد و سر بزیر افگند، چون مجلسِ گفتگو تمام شد جناب شیخ الاسلام‌را احضار کرده باب‌را چوب زده تنبیهِ معقول نمود و توبه و باز گشت و از غلطهای خود انابه و استغفار کرد و التزام پا بمهر هم سپرده که دیگر ازین غلطها نکند والآن محبوس و مقیّد است منتظرِ حکمِ اعلیحضرتِ اقدسِ همایونِ شهریاری روح العالمین فداه‌است امر امر همایون‌است

(*Translation.*)

"*He is God, exalted is His State.*

"May I be the sacrifice of the dust of Thy blessed feet!

"As concerning the Báb, the Command whose course is as that of Fate had been issued that the learned on both sides should be convened and dispute with him. Therefore, in accordance with the Imperial Command, I sent an officer to bring him in chains from Urumiyya [*i.e.* the Castle of Chihríq] and hand him over to Káẓim Khán; and I wrote a note to His Holiness the [Chief] *Mujtahid* that he should come and hold discussion with him with the arguments, proofs and laws of the Perspicuous Religion [of Islám]. His Holiness the *Mujtahid*, however, wrote in reply, 'From the declarations of numerous trustworthy persons and the perusal of documents, [it appears that] this person [*i.e.* the Báb] is devoid of religion, and that his infidelity is clearer than the sun and more obvious than yesterday. After such evidence of witnesses there is no obligation on your humble servant to renew the discussion.'

"I therefore summoned Ákhúnd-i-Mullá Muḥammad[1] and Mullá Murtaẓá-qulí[2], while of [Your Majesty's] servants this slave Aṣlán Khán, Mírzá Yaḥyá and Káẓim Khán were also present in the assembly.

"First Ḥájji Mullá Maḥmúd[3] asked, saying: 'It hath been heard that thou sayest, "I am the Imám's vicegerent and the Báb"; nay, that thou hast uttered certain words implying that thou art actually the Imám or a Prophet.' The Báb answered, 'Yes my friend, my Qibla, I am the Imám's Vice-gerent and the Báb, and what I have said and you have heard is true. It is incumbent on you to obey me, by virtue of [the saying] "Enter the Door [*Báb*] with adoration." But I did not utter these words: He uttered them who uttered them.' They asked, 'Who, then, is the speaker?' He answered, 'He who shone forth on Mount Sinai:

"[If to say] 'I am the Truth' be seemly in a Tree[4],
Why should it not be seemly on the part of some favoured man[5]?"

There is no I-ness in the case: God hath said these things, while I am but as the Tree [or Burning Bush] on Sinai. At that time [the Divine Word] was created in it, and now in me. And I swear by God that I am that person whom you have been expecting from the beginning of Islám until now; I am he whom forty thousand doctors will deny.'

[1] Called *Mámqání*, a notable Shaykhí divine entitled *Ḥujjatu'l-Islám*.

[2] Of Marand, entitled *'Alamu'l-Hudá*.

[3] The tutor of the Crown-Prince, entitled *Mullá-báshí*, and *Niẓámu'l-'Ulamá*.

[4] Alluding to the Burning Bush.

[5] Alluding to the celebrated Súfí mystic Ḥusayn ibn Manṣúr-i-Ḥalláj, who was put to death in A.D. 921 for heresy and blasphemy, and chiefly for his saying *Ana'l-Ḥaqq*, "I am the Truth."

"They enquired, 'In what book is this tradition that forty thousand doctors will deny?' He replied, 'If it be not forty thousand, it is at any rate four thousand.' Mullá Murtaẓá-qulí said, 'Very well; then according to this statement, thou art the Author of a [new] Dispensation. But it is in the Traditions and a necessary part of our Faith that the [Promised] One shall appear from Mecca, and that the leaders of men and *Jinn*, together with forty-five thousand *Jinnís* will believe in him, and that he will have with him the heir-looms of the Prophets, such as David's coat-of-mail, the rod of Moses, Solomon's ring, and the White Hand[1]. Where, now, are the rod of Moses and the White Hand?' The Báb answered, 'I am not permitted to bring them.' Ákhúnd-i-Mullá Muḥammad said, 'Thou didst err in coming without permission.' Then they asked him, 'What hast thou of signs and miracles?' He replied, 'My miracle is this, that I can cause verses to be revealed for my staff,' whereupon he began to recite the following words:

"'*In the Name of God the Merciful the Forgiving. Glory be to God the Holy the Glorified, Who created the Heavens and the Earth as He created this staff, as one of His Signs.*' But according to the rules of [Arabic] grammar he wrongly vocalized the word *Samáwát* (Heavens) as *Samáwáta*. They said, 'Make its [final] vowel *i*.' Then he recited the word *al-Arḍ* (the Earth) also with a [final] *i*. Amír Aṣlán Khán observed that if such words were of the nature of 'Signs,' he likewise could produce such, and proceeded to recite: '*Praise be to God who created the staff as He created the morning and the evening*': whereat the Báb was greatly ashamed.

"Afterwards Ḥájji Mullá Maḥmúd enquired saying:

[1] *i.e.* the Hand of Moses, which he drew forth from under his cloak "as white as snow."

'It hath come down in Tradition that Ma'mún asked of His Holiness the Imám 'Alí Riḍá, "What is the proof of the [right to the] Caliphate of your grandfather?" His Holiness answered, "The sign of ourselves." Ma'mún said, "Were it not for our women." His Holiness said, "Were it not for our sons." Elucidate this dialogue and explain the point[1].' The Báb reflected for a while, but answered nothing.

"After that they asked some questions on Jurisprudence and other sciences, which he was unable to answer, not even the plainest juridical questions, such as those concerning doubt and error [arising during the performance of prayer[2]], but hung his head and again began to utter such meaningless words as, 'I am that very Light which shone forth on Sinai, for it hath come down in tradition that that Light was the Light of one of the Shí'ís[3].' Thereupon this servant remarked, 'Wherefore shouldst thou be that Shí'í? Perhaps it was the Light of Mullá Murtaḍá-qulí.' Thereat he was more ashamed than before, and hung his head.

"When the discussion was concluded, His Reverence the Shaykhu'l-Islám was summoned, who had the Báb beaten and inflicted on him an exemplary chastisement, so that he apologized, recanted, and repented of and asked pardon for his errors, giving a sealed undertaking that henceforth he would not commit such faults. Now he is in prison and bonds awaiting the decision of His Most Sacred, Royal and Imperial Majesty, may the souls of the worlds be his sacrifice!"

[1] The point is no clearer to me than it was 25 years ago when I published my translation of the *Traveller's Narrative*, q.v. (Vol. ii, pp. 282—4 and n. 1 on p. 283 *ad calc.*). My friend Muḥammad Shafí' suggests that the allusion is to *Qur'án*, iii, 54.

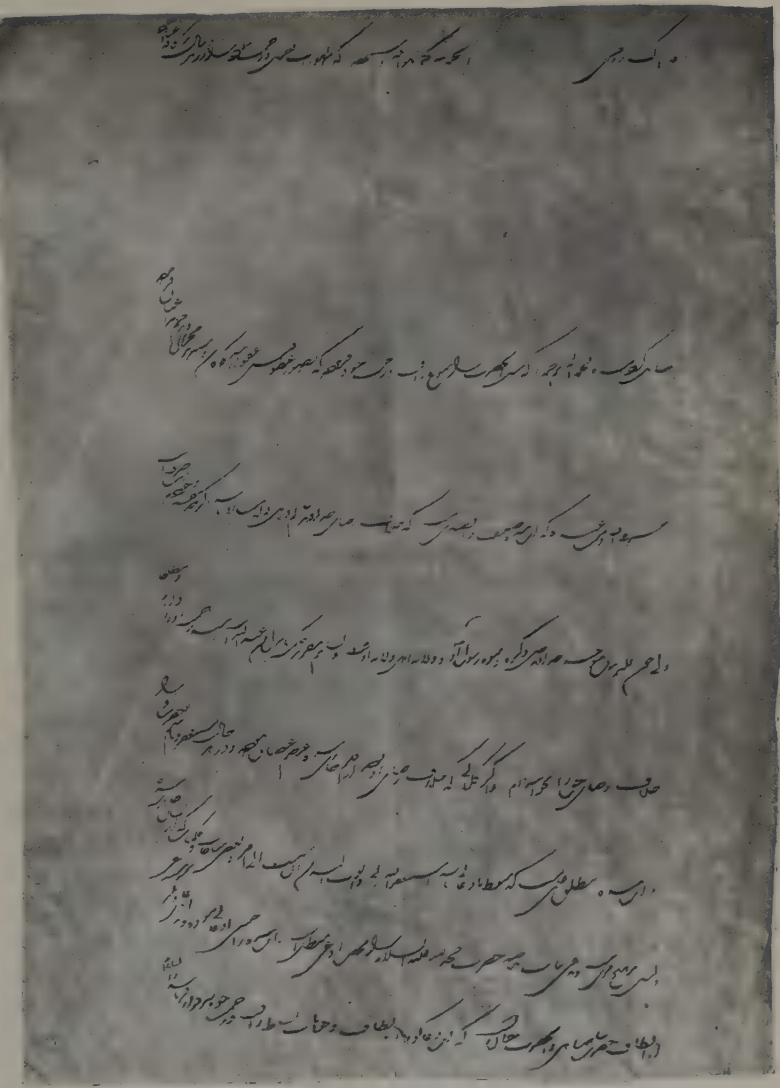
[2] See *ibid.* pp. 285—6 and footnotes.

[3] *i.e.* of the followers of 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib, the First Imám.

B.

The second document, unsigned and undated, is apparently in the Báb's handwriting and consists of a complete recantation and renunciation of any superhuman claim which he may have advanced or have appeared to advance. There is nothing to show to whom it is addressed, or whether it is the recantation referred to in the last paragraph of the preceding document or another. The handwriting, though graceful, is not easily legible, and the text appears to run as follows:

فداك روحی الحمد لله کما هو اهله و مستحقّه که ظهوراتِ فضل و رحمتِ خودرا در هر حال بر کافّهٔ عبادِ خود شامل گردانیده بحمد الله ثمّ حمدًا که مثلِ آن حضرت‌را ینبوعِ رأفت و رحمتِ خود فرموده که بظهورِ عطوفتش عفو از بندگان و تستّر بر مجرمان و ترحّم بر یاغیان فرموده اشهد الله من عنده که این بندهٔ ضعیف‌را قصدی نیست که خلافِ رضای خداوندِ عالم و اهلِ ولایتِ او باشد اگرچه بنفسه وجودم ذنبِ صرف است ولی چون قلبم موقن بتوحیدِ خداوند جلّ ذکره و نبوّتِ رسولِ او صَ و ولایتِ اهلِ ولایت اوست و لسانم مقرّ بر کلّ ما نزل من عند الله است امیدِ رحمت اورا دارم و مطلقا خلافِ رضای حق‌را نخواسته‌ام و اگر کلماتی که خلاف رضای او بوده از قلم جاری شده غرضم عصیان نبوده و در هر حال مستغفر و تائبم حضرتِ اورا و این بنده‌را



Fac-simile of document B.

To face p. 256.

مطلق علمی نیست که منوط بادّعائی باشد استغفر الله ربّی و أتوب الیه من أن یُنْسَبَ الیّ امرٌ و بعضی مناجات و کلمات که از لسان جاری شده دلیلش بر هیچ امری نیست و مدّعی نیابت خاصّهٔ حضرت حجّة الله علیه السلام را مخص ادّعای مبطل و این بنده را چنین ادّعائی نبوده و نه ادّعای دیگر، مستدعی از الطاف حضرت شاهنشاهی و آنحضرت چنان‌است که این دعاگورا بالطاف و عنایات بساط رأفت و رحمتِ خود سر افراز فرمایند و السّلام،

(*Translation.*)

"May my life be thy sacrifice! Praise be to God such as He deserves and merits, in that He hath caused [those who are] the Manifestations of His Grace and Mercy under all circumstances to comprehend all of His servants. Praise be to God, and again praise, that He hath deigned to make one like your Excellency[1] the source of His Clemency and Mercy, by the manifestation of whose kindness He hath pardoned His servants, cast a veil over [the faults of] sinners, and shown mercy to the transgressors. I take God to witness on His part that this weak servant never intended aught contrary to the good pleasure of the Lord of the World and the Company of Saints. Although my very existence is in itself utterly faulty, yet since my heart firmly believes in the unity of God (glorious in His mention), and the Prophethood of His Apostle, and the Saintship of the Community of Saints, and since my tongue acknowledgeth all

[1] The title might equally be rendered "Highness," "Holiness," "Reverence," etc., according to the station of the person addressed.

that hath been revealed on the part of God, I hope for His Mercy. Never have I desired aught contrary to the Will of God, and, if words contrary to His good pleasure have flowed from my pen, my object was not disobedience, and in any case I repent and ask forgiveness of Him. This servant has absolutely no knowledge connected with any [superhuman] claim[1]. I ask forgiveness of God my Lord and I repent unto Him of [the idea] that there should be ascribed to me any [Divine] Mission. As for certain prayers and words which have flowed from my tongue, these do not imply any such Mission (*amr*), and any [apparent] claim to any special vicegerency for His Holiness the Proof of God[2] (on whom be Peace!) is a purely baseless claim, such as this servant has never put forward, nay, nor any claim like unto it. Therefore it is thus hoped from the clemency of His Imperial Majesty and of Your Excellency, that they will exalt the head of him who continually prays for them by the favours and graces of their clement and compassionate court. Farewell."

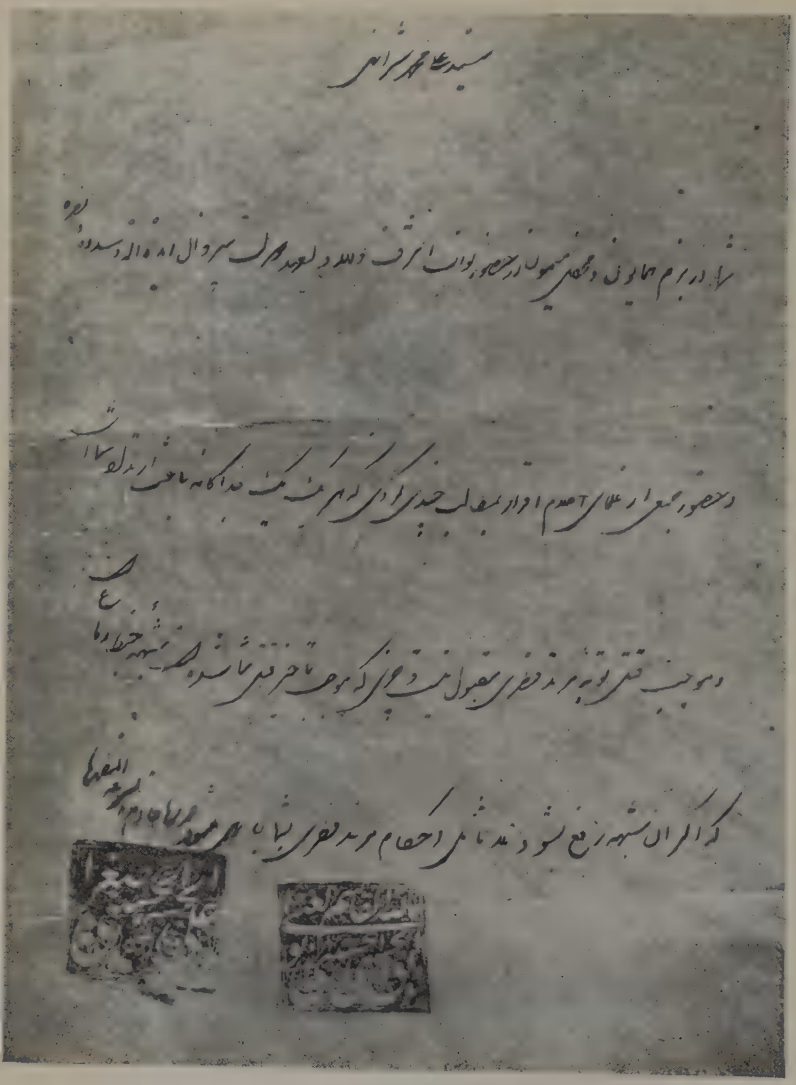
B[1].

The third document, likewise undated, is addressed to Sayyid 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb, and contains the *fatwá*, or ecclesiastical sentence, of the *'ulamá*, by two of whom, Abu'l-Qásim al-Ḥasaní al-Ḥusayní and 'Alí Aṣghar al-Ḥasaní al-Ḥusayní, it is formally sealed. The latter is probably the *Shaykhu'l-Islám*, who caused the Báb to be beaten after the Tabríz interrogatory[3]; the former I have not yet been able to identify.

[1] Such as that he was the "Gate of Knowledge" (*Bábu'l-'Ilm*), or the like.

[2] *i.e.* the Twelfth Imám or Imám Mahdí.

[3] See *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 20—21 and 278.



Fac-simile of document B[1].

To face p. 259

سیّد علی محمّد شیرازی

شما در بزمِ همایون و محفلِ میمون در حضورِ نوّاب اشرف والا ولی عهدِ دولت بی زوال ایّده الله و سدّده و نصره و حضورِ جمعی از علمای اعلام اقرار بمطالب چندی کردی که هر یك جداگانه باعثِ ارتدادِ شماست و موجبِ قتل، توبهٔ مرتدِّ فطری مقبول نیست و چیزی که موجبِ تأخیر قتلِ شما شده‌است شبههٔ خبطِ دماغ است که اگر آن شبهه رفع شود بلا تأمّل احکامِ مرتدّ فطری بشما جاری میشود، حرّره خادم الشریعة المطهّرة

(محلّ مُهْر) (محلّ مُهْر)

ابو القاسم الحسنی الحسینی علی اصغر الحسنی الحسینی

(*Translation.*)

"Sayyid 'Alí Muḥammad-i-Shírází:

"In the Imperial Banquet-hall and August Assembly of His Highness the Crown Prince of the undeclining Empire [of Persia], (may God aid, support and strengthen him!) and of a number of learned doctors, thou didst admit certain matters each one of which separately implied thy apostasy and justified thy death. The repentance of an incorrigible apostate is not accepted, and the only thing which has caused the postponement of thy execution is a doubt as to thy sanity of mind. Should this doubt be removed, the sentence of an incorrigible apostate would without hesitation be executed upon thee."

Sealed by {Abu'l-Qásim al-Ḥasaní al-Ḥusayní / 'Alí Aṣghar al-Ḥasaní al-Ḥusayní}.

The last two documents, which are in English, were kindly communicated to me by Mr W. A. Shedd, who wrote concerning them as follows in a letter dated March 1, 1911:

"Dear Professor Browne,

"In going over papers of my father, I found something which I think may be of value from a historical point of view. I have no books here, nor are any accessible here, to be certain whether this bit of testimony (or rather these two bits) have been used or not. I think probably not, and I am sure that I can do nothing better than send them to you, with the wish that you may use them as you think best. Of the authenticity of the papers there can be no doubt.

"Yours very truly, W. A. Shedd."

The first of these two documents is very valuable as giving the personal impression produced by the Báb, during the period of his imprisonment and suffering, on a cultivated and impartial Western mind. Very few Western Christians can have had the opportunity of seeing, still less of conversing with, the Báb, and I do not know of any other who has recorded his impressions. The second document, belonging to a later period, describes the circumstances attending the presentation to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh of the letter addressed to him by Bahá'u'lláh and transmitted by the hand of Mírzá Badí' in July, 1869[1].

I.

Dr Cormick's accounts of his personal impressions of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb, extracted from letters written by him to the Rev. Benjamin Labaree, D.D.

"You ask me for some particulars of my interview with the founder of the sect known as Bábís. Nothing of any

[1] See *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, p. 393.

importance transpired in this interview, as the Báb was aware of my having been sent with two other Persian doctors to see whether he was of sane mind or merely a madman, to decide the question whether to put him to death or not. With this knowledge he was loth to answer any questions put to him. To all enquiries he merely regarded us with a mild look, chanting in a low melodious voice some hymns, I suppose. Two other *Sayyids*[1], his intimate friends, were also present, who subsequently were put to death with him[2], besides a couple of government officials. He only once deigned to answer me, on my saying that I was not a Musulmán and was willing to know something about his religion, as I might perhaps be inclined to adopt it. He regarded me very intently on my saying this, and replied that he had no doubt of all Europeans coming over to his religion. Our report to the Sháh at that time was of a nature to spare his life. He was put to death some time after by the order of the *Amír-i-Nizám* Mírzá Taqí Khán. On our report he merely got the bastinado, in which operation a *farrásh*, whether intentionally or not, struck him across the face with the stick destined for his feet, which produced a great wound and swelling of the face. On being asked whether a Persian surgeon should be brought to treat him, he expressed a desire that I should be sent for, and I accordingly treated him for a few days, but in the interviews consequent on this I could never get him to have a confidential chat with me, as some Government people were always present, he being a prisoner.

[1] These were, no doubt, the two brothers Sayyid Ḥasan and Sayyid Ḥusayn of Yazd, of whom the latter was especially his amanuensis.

[2] This is an error. Sayyid Ḥusayn was put to death in the great persecution of 1852, two years after the Báb.

"He was very thankful for my attentions to him. He was a very mild and delicate-looking man, rather small in stature and very fair for a Persian, with a melodious soft voice, which struck me much. Being a Sayyid, he was dressed in the habits of that sect, as were also his two companions. In fact his whole look and deportment went far to dispose one in his favour. Of his doctrine I heard nothing from his own lips, although the idea was that there existed in his religion a certain approach to Christianity. He was seen by some Armenian carpenters, who were sent to make some repairs in his prison, reading the Bible, and he took no pains to conceal it, but on the contrary told them of it. Most assuredly the Musulmán fanaticism does not exist in his religion, as applied to Christians, nor is there that restraint of females that now exists."

II.

"ATTEMPT OF THE BÁBÍS TO SECURE TOLERATION.

"The story of the Bábís having reappeared in Ṭihrán, threatening the Sháh's life, etc., some time back, was partly true. The version of the story, as related to me by Sulaymán Khán, who was in Ṭihrán at the time, and confirmed by others, is this. The Sháh, when out riding one day, perceived at some little distance a man mounted and equipped watching him attentively[1]. He immediately sent to have him seized and brought to him. The Sháh said, on his being brought, 'I have observed you for some time past always following me when out riding, and as you are not a

[1] The man to whom reference is here made was undoubtedly Mírzá Badí', who brought Bahá'u'lláh's letter to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh from 'Akká to Ṭihrán in July, 1869.

servant of mine, you are most probably a Bábí?' To this the man, nothing daunted, replied that he was. On further enquiry he added that he was the bearer of a letter to the Sháh, and that he was seeking a favourable opportunity to present it to him, and that the letter was sent by their Chief, who had at this moment 70,000 Bábís obeying his orders. The Sháh asked for the document, which, being presented to him, was found to be a petition praying him to allow his sect, *viz.* the Bábís, to establish themselves in Persia and exercise their religion openly the same as Christians and other sects, [undertaking] that they would live peaceably under his rule and infringe no laws, [and] that if any doubt existed in the Sháh's mind as to their religion being the true one or not, he prayed that a conference might be granted between some members of their religion and some Musulmán *Mujtahids* and chief *Mullás* of Ṭihrán to discuss the points of difference between them. If they should succeed in proving that they were in the right, what further cause was there for oppressing them? If not, they consented to undergo any oppression the Sháh might subject them to, beginning by putting to death the members sent to discuss the points.

"This petition, it appears, had no effect upon the Sháh, for he ordered the bearer of it to be taken and tortured to find out if he had any accomplices in Ṭihrán; but he divulged nothing, saying that he was alone, and adding that the fact of his being killed was of no consequence, as the 70,000 Bábís under their Chief were all like him, ready to die for their religion, and no doubt other messengers would be sent to kill the Sháh at last, unless he granted the prayer of the petition. Under all the great tortures inflicted on him he remained firm, writing with a piece of stick on the ground till death put an end to his sufferings. After this

some little disturbance took place in Ṭihrán in searching for Bábís, but not with much result. The Bábís succeeded, however, in setting fire to an *Imám-záda* and burning it down. There was, however, no sign of any conspiracy existing. There are some people who think that both the Sháh and the *Mustawfiyu'l-Mamálik* with other great personages are disposed to allow the Bábís to exercise their religion openly in Persia, but the fear of the *Mullás*, and their power to create a revolution against them, prevents them doing so."

(*Extract from a letter to Mr Labaree.*)

"The above was found among papers belonging to the late Rev. J. H. Shedd, D.D., of the American Mission at Urúmiyya, Persia, in whose handwriting it is. Dr Cormick was an English physician long resident in Tabríz, where he was highly respected. The letter was certainly written and the copy of the extracts made before June, 1870. Mr Labaree is the Rev. Benjamin Labaree, D.D., of the same Mission as Dr Shedd. The letter was certainly written after 1862 and probably in 1869 or 1870, as Dr Labaree spent some months in Tabríz in 1869. An *Imám-záda* is the tomb of a reputed descendant of one of the Imáms, and, as such, a shrine. There are many such in Persia.

"W. A. Shedd."

V

AN AUSTRIAN OFFICER'S ACCOUNT OF THE CRUELTIES PRACTISED ON THE BÁBÍS WHO SUFFERED IN THE GREAT PERSECUTION OF 1852

Amongst the documents referring to the Bábís in my possession is a manuscript copy of an article in German published on October 17, 1852, in No. 291 of some German or Austrian newspaper of which, unhappily, the name is not noted. I think that I received it a good many years ago from the widow of the late Dr Polak, an Austrian doctor, who was physician to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh at the beginning of his reign, and who is the author of a valuable book and several smaller treatises on Persia and matters connected therewith. It is chiefly based on a letter written on August 29, 1852, by an Austrian officer, Captain von Goumoens, who was in the Sháh's service, but who was so disgusted and horrified at the cruelties he was compelled to witness that he sent in his resignation[1]. The translation of this article is as follows.

(Number 291. October 17th, 1852.)

"Some days ago we mentioned the attempt made on the life of the Sháh of Persia on the occasion of a hunting-party. The conspirators, as is well known, belonged to the Bábís, a religious sect. Concerning this sect and the repressive measures adopted against it, the letter of the Austrian Captain von Goumoens lately published in the 'Soldier's friend' (*Soldatenfreund*) contains interesting disclosures, and

[1] Compare for details of this massacre *Traveller's Narrative*, ii, pp. 323—334.

elucidates to some extent the attempt in question. This letter runs as follows:

"'Ṭihrán, August 29, 1852.

"'Dear Friend, My last letter of the 20th inst. mentioned the attempt on the King. I will now communicate to you the result of the interrogation to which the two criminals were subjected. In spite of the terrible tortures inflicted, the examination extorted no comprehensive confession; the lips of the fanatics remained closed, even when by means of red-hot pincers and limb-rending screws they sought to discover the chief conspirator. All that transpired was that they belonged to the Bábí sect. These Bábís are heretics; though they pray to the Prophet (*sic!*), yet they differ in many usages from the orthodox Musulmáns. This sect was founded about fifteen years ago[1] by a certain *Báb*, who was shot by the King's command. The most faithful of his adherents fled to Zanján, where, two years ago, they were reduced by the Royal Troops, and, as was generally believed, were exterminated without regard for age or sex. Like all religious intolerance, this unmeasured persecution produced exactly the opposite of the effects intended. The Báb's teaching gained more and more ground, and is at the present moment diffused through the whole country. Since the government obstinately clung to the system of persecution, the schismatics found occasion to steel their resolution, and to develop qualities which, contrasted with the effeminate luxury of the State Religion, compelled respect. Very skilfully had the Prophet [*i.e.* the Báb] pointed out to the disciples of his teaching that the way to Paradise lay through the torture-

[1] This is, of course, an error, for the Báb's "Manifestation" took place in A.D. 1844 (A.H. 1260), only eight years before this letter was written.

chamber. If he spoke truly, then the present Sháh has deserved great merit, for he strenuously endeavours to people all the realms of the Saints with Bábís! His last edict still further enjoins on the Royal servants the annihilation of the sect. If these simply followed the Royal command and rendered harmless such of the fanatics as are arrested by inflicting on them a swift and lawful death, one must needs, from the Oriental standpoint, approve of this; but the manner of inflicting the sentence, the circumstances which precede the end, the agonies which consume the bodies of the victims until their life is extinguished in the last convulsion are so horrible that the blood curdles in my veins if I now endeavour to depict the scene for you, even in outline. Innumerable blows with sticks which fall heavily on the back and soles of the feet, brandings of different parts of the body with red-hot irons, are such usual inflictions that the victim who undergoes only such caresses is to be accounted fortunate. But follow me my friend, you who lay claim to a heart and European ethics, follow me to the unhappy ones who, with gouged-out eyes, must eat, on the scene of the deed, without any sauce, their own amputated ears; or whose teeth are torn out with inhuman violence by the hand of the executioner; or whose bare skulls are simply crushed by blows from a hammer; or where the *bázár* is illuminated with unhappy victims, because on right and left the people dig deep holes in their breasts and shoulders and insert burning wicks in the wounds[1]. I saw some dragged in chains through the *bázár*, preceded by a military band, in whom these wicks had burned so deep that now the fat flickered convulsively in the wound like a newly-extinguished lamp.

"'Not seldom it happens that the unwearying ingenuity

[1] This is the torture called *sham'-ájín*, which was inflicted on this occasion on Sulaymán Khán.

of the Orientals leads to fresh tortures. They will skin the soles of the Bábís' feet, soak the wounds in boiling oil, shoe the foot like the hoof of a horse, and compel the victim to run. No cry escaped from the victim's breast; the torment is endured in dark silence by the numbed sensation of the fanatic; now he must run; the body cannot endure what the soul has endured; he falls. Give him the *coup de grâce*! Put him out of his pain! No! The executioner swings the whip, and—I myself have had to witness it—the unhappy victim of hundred-fold tortures runs! This is the beginning of the end. As for the end itself, they hang the scorched and perforated bodies by their hands and feet to a tree head-downwards, and now every Persian may try his marksmanship to his heart's content from a fixed but not too proximate distance on the noble quarry placed at his disposal. I saw corpses torn by nearly 150 bullets. The more fortunate suffered strangulation, stoning or suffocation: they were bound before the muzzle of a mortar, cut down with swords, or killed with dagger thrusts, or blows from hammers and sticks. Not only the executioner and the common people took part in the massacre: sometimes Justice would present some of the unhappy Bábís to various dignitaries, and the Persian [recipient] would be well content, deeming it an honour to imbrue his own hands in the blood of the pinioned and defenceless victim. Infantry, cavalry, artillery, the *ghuláms* or guards of the King, and the guilds of butchers, bakers, etc., all took their fair share in these bloody deeds. One Bábí was presented to the crack officers-corps of the garrison; the general in command dealt the first blow, and afterwards each one as his rank determined. The Persian troops are butchers, not soldiers. One Bábí fell to the share of the *Imam-Jum'a*, who put him to death. Islám knows nothing of charity!

"'When I read over again what I have written I am overcome by the thought that those who are with you in our dearly beloved Austria may doubt the full truth of the picture, and accuse me of exaggeration. Would to God that I had not lived to see it! But by the duties of my profession I was unhappily often, only too often, a witness of these abominations. At present I never leave my house, in order not to meet with fresh scenes of horror. After their death the Bábís are hacked in two and either nailed to the city gate, or cast out into the plain as food for the dogs and jackals. Thus the punishment extends even beyond the limits which bound this bitter world, for Musulmáns who are not buried have no right to enter the Prophet's Paradise.

"'Since my whole soul revolts against such infamy, against such abominations as recent times, according to the judgement of all, present, I will no longer maintain my connection with the scene of such crimes...[1].'

"'English newspapers give accounts of the barbarous execution of Ḥájji Sulaymán Khán, who was accused of having organized the recent attempt on the life of the Sháh. Holes were bored in different parts of his body, in which were inserted burning candle-ends; thus illuminated he was dragged through the *bázár* to one of the city gates, where he was cut into four pieces "like a fat ram." Besides him "the beautiful Prophetess of Qazwín," known as Qurratu'l-'Ayn, and twelve other persons were executed. The Sháh is almost recovered from his slight shot-wound.'"

[1] He goes on to say that he has already asked for his discharge, but has not yet received an answer.

VI

TWO UNPUBLISHED CONTEMPORARY STATE PAPERS BEARING ON THE REMOVAL OF THE BÁBÍS FROM BAGHDÁD TO TURKEY IN EUROPE, DATED MAY 10, 1862

The two following documents, which are of considerable historical interest, were most obligingly communicated to me by Monsieur A.-L.-M. Nicolas, at that time First Dragoman of the French Legation in Ṭihrán, in March, 1902, and were accompanied by the following lines, written in Paris, on the 19th of that month.

" Monsieur,

" M'occupant depuis une dizaine d'années de l'étude de la Manifestation Béyânie, il m'a été donné de recueillir beaucoup de documents inédits pendant un long séjour en Perse.

" Seuls ceux qui regardent directement le Báb m'intéressent d'une façon immédiate : soit qu'ils concernent l'histoire, soit qu'ils se rapportent au dogme. J'estime cette tâche suffisante pour le moment, et je ne m'occuperai que par la suite de l'Imamat de *Soubh-i-Ezel* et de la seconde Manifestation divine en la personne de Béha.

" L'histoire que je prépare s'arrêtera donc à la fuite à Baghdad, ou plutôt aux exécutions qui suivirent l'attentat contre S. M. le Chah.

" Vous vous êtes, Monsieur, magistralement occupé de cette seconde partie de l'évolution Béyânie. Aussi crois-je vous être agréable et utile en vous communiquant deux pièces se rapportant au séjour des exilés à Baghdad. Ces deux pièces sont de la plus haute importance : elles démontrent d'abord que le Gouvernement Persan a parfaitement sollicité du Gouvernement Ottoman l'extradition des fugitifs,

elles sont ensuite muettes sur la personne de *Souhh-i-Ezel*, ce qui vous étonnera certainement : il semble, à la lecture de ces documents que, dès ce moment Mirza Housseïn Ali fut—sinon le chef—du moins la personnalité la plus marquante du parti.

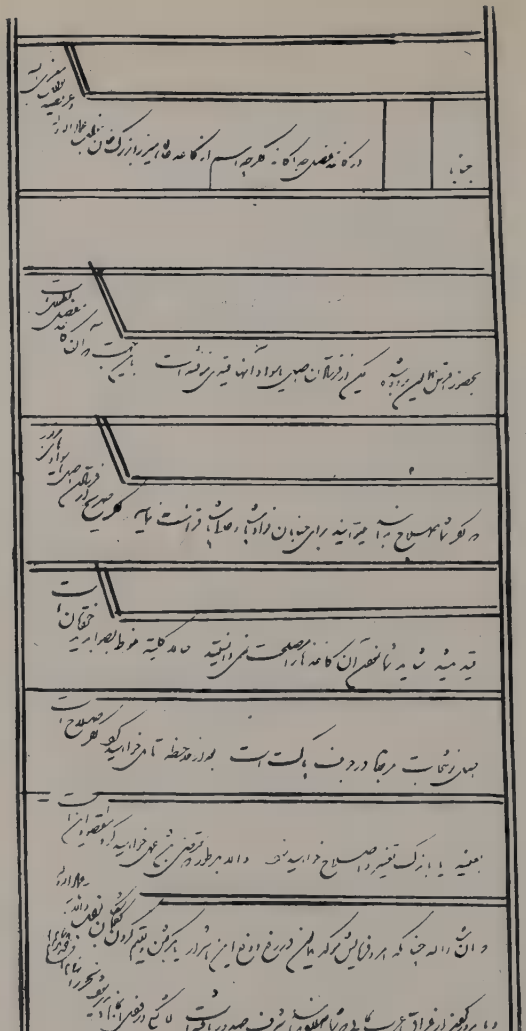
"Les pièces originales sont de la main même de Mirza Saïd Khan, ex-Ministre des Affaires Étrangères. (Elles sont adressées à l'Ambassadeur à Constantinople.) Les photographies faites par moi sont suffisantes pour reconnaître l'écriture. Le cachet se trouve naturellement au dos : c'est pourquoi il ne paraît pas sur les épreuves que je vous envoie. Elles se trouvaient toutes deux, collées sur carton percé à l'endroit du cachet au milieu d'un recueil assez considérable de pièces émanant de la même main Vezîrielle et relatives aux diverses affaires soumises au Ministère. Deux autres lettres s'y trouvaient encore relatives aux Babis. L'une est un très court billet du Ministre à un correspondant inconnu dans lequel l'auteur affirme avoir essayé de rendre service aux sectaires, et s'étonne que ses démarches aient été dénaturées ; la seconde est une longue lettre du Grand *Moujtehed* de Tauris : dans un passage de cette lettre le prélat se fait fort de déraciner ce qu'il appelle l'hérésie.

"Je ne pause pas de me trouver, Monsieur, un intermédiaire plus compétent et plus autorisé que vous pour la publication de ces pièces, et je suis convaincu que le *Journal de la Société Royale Asiatique* s'empressera d'accueillir, présentés par vous, ces éclaircissements sur un point si intéressant de l'histoire qui nous passionne tous deux.

"Je tiens les clichés à votre disposition pour le cas où vous en aurez besoin.

"Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, mes salutations les plus empressées.

"A. L. M. Nicolas."



Fac-simile of the document A. 6.

To face p. 277.

The documents in question are distinguished by the marks "*A.* 6" and "*A.* 7." I begin with the former, which is the shorter.

A. 6.

جنابا در کاغذِ مفصّلِ جداگانه اگرچه اسمر از کاغذِ عالیجاه میرزا بزرگ خان بنوّاب عماد الدّوله و عریضهٔ نوّابِ معزّی الیه بحضور اقدس همایون برده شده لیکن از فرستادنِ اصل یا سوادِ آنها قیدی نرفته‌است باین جهت که آن کاغذِ مفصّل بطوری است که اگر شما صلاح بدانید میتوانید برای جنابان فؤاد پاشا و عالی پاشا قرائت نمائید اگر صریح از فرستادنِ اصل یا سوادهای مزبور قید میشد شاید شما نمودنِ آن کاغذهارا مصلحت نمی دانستید حالا کلّیّةً منوط بصوابدیدِ خودتان است اصلِ نوشتجات مزبوره در جوفِ پاکت است بعد از ملاحظه تأمّل خواهید کرد اگر صلاح‌است بعینه یا باندك تغییر و اصلاح خواهید نمود و الّا بهر طور که مقتضی باشد عمل خواهید کرد، مقصود این است که ان شاء الله چنانکه امر و فرمایشِ مؤکّدِ همایون در رفع و دفع این اشرار یا بگرفتن و تسلیم کردنِ گماشتگانِ نوّاب والا تبار عماد الدّوله و یا بدور کردن از عراقِ عرب بجائی که شما صلاح بدانید شرفِ صدور یافته‌است بشایستگی و زودی انجام پذیر شود، تحریرًا فی ۱۲ ذی حجّة الحرام سنه ۱۲۷۸

(*Translation.*)

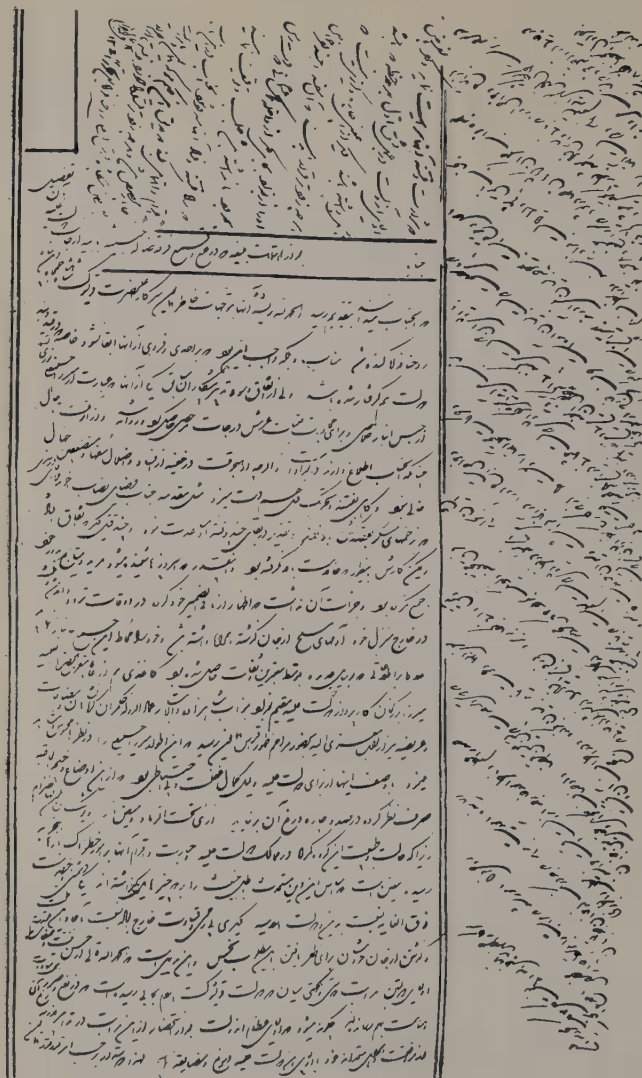
"Excellency,

"Although in a separate and detailed letter mention has been made of the letter of the Right Honourable Mírzá Buzurg Khán to Prince 'Imádu'd-Dawla, and of the said Prince's letter to [His Majesty's] Most Sacred and Royal Presence, yet no reference is made to the sending of the originals or copies of these letters, because that detailed letter is so phrased that if you deem it expedient you can read it to their Excellencies Fu'ád Pasha and 'Álí Pasha, but had any explicit reference been made to the sending of the aforesaid originals or copies, perhaps you would not have considered it expedient to show them, whilst now it entirely depends on your own judgement. The originals of the aforesaid letters are enclosed in this packet. After perusing them you will consider the matter, and if it appears expedient you will show them exactly as they are or with some slight change and emendation. The object is that as the most emphatic Royal Command and Injunction hath been honoured by issue as to the removal and repression of these evil men[1], or their arrest and the handing over of them to the officers of the illustrious Prince 'Imádu'd-Dawla, or their removal from 'Iráq-i-'Arab to some place which you regard as expedient, it may, if God so please, be duly and speedily fulfilled.

"Written on the 12th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, 1278"

(= May 10, 1862).

[1] *i.e.* the Bábís at Baghdád.



Fac-simile of the document A. 7.

To face p. 279.

A. 7.

جنابا بعد از اهتمامات بلیغه که در قلع و قمع فرقهٔ ضالّهٔ خبیثهٔ بابیّه از جانبِ دولتِ علیّه بآن تفصیل که آنجناب میدانید بتقدیم رسید الحمد لله ریشهٔ آنها بتوجّهاتِ خاطرِ همایونِ سرکار اعلیحضرت قویشوکت شاهنشاه جمجاه دین پناه روحنا فداه کنده شد مناسب و بلکه واجب این بود که بر احدی و فردی از آنها ابقا نشود خاصّه که در قید و بندِ دولت هم گرفتار شده باشد ولی از اتّفاق و سؤ تدبیر پیشکارانِ سابق یکی از آنها که عبارت از میرزا حسین علی نوری است از حبسِ انبار خلاصی و برای مجاورتِ عتباتِ عرش درجات مرخّصی حاصل کرد و روانه شد و از آنوقت تا حال چنانکه آنجناب اطّلاع دارند در بغداد است و اگرچه او هیچ وقت در خفیه از افساد و اضلالِ سفها و مستضعفینِ جُهّال خالی نبود و گاهی بفتنه و تحریك قتل هم دست میزد مثلِ مقدّمهٔ جناب فضایل نصاب آخوند ملّا آقای دربندی که زخمهای منکر بقصدِ کشتن باو زدند و تقدیر در بقای چند وقتهٔ او مساعدت نمود و چند قتلِ دیگر که اتّفاق افتاد و لیکن کارش باین طور که حالا هست بالا نگرفته بود و این قدر که این روزها شنیده میشود مرید و متابع بدَوْرِ خود جمع نکرده بود و جرأت آن نداشت که اظهار

از ما فی الضّمیرِ خود کرده در اوقات تردّد و آمد شد و مکث در خارج منزل خود آدمهای مسلّح از جان گذشته همراه داشته باشد و خودرا مُحاطِ این جمع جانباز نماید علاوه بر اطّلاعاتیکه بوسایلِ عدیده بتوسّطِ معتبرین و ثُقات حاصل شده بود کاغذی هم از عالی مقام مقرّب الحضرة العلیّه میرزا بزرگ خان کارپرداز دولتِ علیّه مقیم بغداد بنوّاب شاهزادهٔ والا تبار عماد الدّوله حکمرانِ کرمانشاهان و مضافات و عریضهٔ نیز از نوّاب معزّی الیه بحضورِ مراحم ظهورِ اقدس همایون رسید که‌این اطوار میرزا حسین علی‌را در نظرها محسوس و مشاهد مینمود با وصفِ اینها از برای دولت علیّه دلیلِ کمالِ غفلت و بی احتیاطی بود که از این اوضاعِ وخیم العاقبة صرفِ نظر کرده در صددِ چاره و رفع آن بر نیآید

أَرَى تَحْتَ ٱلرَّمَادِ وَمِيضَ نَارٍ وَ يُوشِكُ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهَا ضَرَامُ

زیرا که حالت و طبیعتِ این گروهِ گمراه در ممالکِ دولت علیّه و جسارت و اقدامِ آنها بر امورِ خطرناك بارها بتجربه رسیده معیّن‌است که اساسِ این دین مستحدث و باطل خبیث‌را بر دو چیزِ هایل گذاشته اند یکی دشمنی و خصومتِ فوق الغایه نسبت بدین دولت اسلامیّه دیگری بی رحمی و قساوتِ خارج العاده نسبت بآحادِ این ملّت

و گذشتن از جانِ خودشان برای ظفر یافتن باین مطلوبِ
نحس و این بدیهی‌است که بحمد الله تعالی از حسنِ
نیّت و صفای اولیای دولتَیْن مراتبِ دوستی و یکجهتی
میانِ دو دولت قویشوکتِ اسلام بجائی رسیده است که
در نفع و ضرر سمتِ مساوات و مساهمت بهم رسانده اند
چگونه میشود که اولیای عظامِ آن دولت بعد از استحضار
از این مراتب در تدابیرِ لازمهٔ رفع آن از مرافقت و همراهی
متّحدانهٔ خود با اولیای این دولتِ علیّه دریغ و مضایقه
نمایند لهذا دوستدار بر حسبِ امر قدر قدرتِ همایون سرکار
اعلیحضرت شاهنشاه ظلّ الله ولی نعمت کلّ ممالكِ محروسهٔ
ایران روحی فداه مأمور شد که مراتب‌را بتوسّطِ چاپارِ
مخصوص باطّلاع آنجناب رسانیده مأموریّت بدهد که بلا
درنگ از جنابان جلالتمآبان صدر اعظم و ناظرِ امورِ خارجهٔ
آن دولت وقت خواسته مطلب‌را بطوری که دوستی و
مواحدتِ دولتَیْن علیّتَیْن اقتضا و اوصاف نیکخواهی و عقل
متین جنابان معزّی الیهما دعوت نماید بمیان بگذارد
و در اطرافِ آن دقّت و تعمّق وافی بکار برده و رفع این
مایهٔ فسادرا از مثلِ بغداد جائی که مجمع فرقِ مختلفه
و نزدیك بحدودِ ممالكِ محروسه‌است از کمالِ خیراندیشی
و بیغرضی ایشان بخواهد این مسئله در نظر اولیای دولت
مسلّم است که نباید میرزا حسین علی و خواصّ اتباعِ

اورا در آنجا گذاشت و میدان خیالاتِ فاسده و حرکاتِ محتملهٔ آنهارا وسعت داد از دو کار یکی بنظر اولیای این دولت مناسب می‌آید باینمعنی که اگر اولیای دولتِ عثمانی در این مادّهٔ مهمّه موافقتِ کامله با اولیای این دولت می کنند بی آنکه ملاخطهٔ شخص آن مفسدین بیدین‌را نمایند و در این بَیْن که پای مصلحت دولت بمیان آمده‌است حرفِ خارج از مسئله چنانکه مأمول و متوقّع است بهیچ وجه بمیان نمی آورند بهتر این‌است که حکمِ صریح بجناب نامق پاشا والی ایالتِ بغداد بدهند و از اینطرف هم حکم بعهدهٔ نوّاب حکمرانِ کرمانشاهان صادر شود که میرزا حسین علی و هر چند نفر از اتباع و خواصّ اورا که بانی و اساسِ فساد هستند بطوریکه مقتضی میشود گرفته در سرحدّ بدست گماشتگان نوّاب معزّی الیه تسلیم نمایند و دولت آنهارا در جائی از داخلهٔ خود که مناسب می داند بقراول و مستحفظ نگاه داشته و نگذارد که شرارت و فتنهٔ آنها سرایت نماید واگر بالْفَرْض اولیای آن دولت در عمل بشقّ اوّل بهر ملاخطه که باشد تأمّل داشته باشند دیگر از اینمعنی چاره و گریزی نیست که هرچه زودتر قرار بدهند که ان مفسد و چند نفر خواصّ اورا از بغداد بجائی دیگر از داخلهٔ ممالك عثمانی که

دست رس بحدودِ ما نداشته باشد جلب و توقیف نمایند که راه فتنه و فساد آنها مسدود شود آنجناب در این باب اقدام و اهتمامی بکنند که لایق این حکم مُوکّد همایون و مأموریّت چاپار مخصوص باشد و هرچه زودتر قراردادِ خودرا بنویسد تا از آن قرار بعرضِ پیشگاهِ اقدس اعلی روحنا فداه برسد'

تحریراً فی دوازدهم ذی الحجّة سنه ۱۲۷۸

(*Translation.*)

"Excellency,

"After the carrying out of those energetic measures on the part of the Persian Government for the extirpation and extermination of the misguided and detestable sect of the Bábís, with the details of which Your Excellency is fully acquainted[1], Praise be to God, by the attention of the Imperial mind of His most potent Majesty, whose rank is as that of Jamshíd, the refuge of the True Religion (may our lives be his sacrifice!), their roots were torn up. It was proper, nay, necessary, that not one of them should be suffered to survive, more especially such as had been overtaken by the bonds and captivity of the Government. But by chance, and through the ill-considered policy of former officials, one of them, to wit Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí of Núr[2], obtained release from the *Anbár* prison and permission to

[1] Allusion is made to the great persecution of the Bábís in Ṭihrán in the summer of 1852.

[2] *i.e.* Bahá'u'lláh.

reside in the neighbourhood of the Shrines, whose rank is as that of God's Throne[1], whither he departed. From that time until now, as your Excellency is aware, he is in Baghdád, and at no time hath he ceased from secretly corrupting and misleading foolish persons and ignorant weaklings. Sometimes, moreover, he hath put his hand to sedition and incitements to murder, as in the case of His most accomplished Reverence Mullá Áqá of Darband, whom they grievously wounded with intent to kill, though Providence permitted him to survive for some while; besides sundry other assassinations which took place. Yet had his affair not then reached the pitch which it hath now attained; nor had he gathered round himself so many disciples and followers as it is heard he hath done in these days; nor did he dare to display the ambitions which he harboured, or to surround himself with armed and devoted men when going hither and thither, or passing backwards and forwards, or remaining outside his lodging, or to encompass himself with this self-devoted crew. Besides the informations which have been acquired through numerous channels by the intermediary of persons of consideration and worthy of credence, a letter from the highly-placed and well-beloved of the Supreme Court Mírzá Buzurg Khán, Consul of the Persian Government resident in Baghdád, has reached the illustrious Prince *'Imádu'd-Dawla*, Governor of Kirmánsháhán and its dependencies, while a representation has been made by the Prince above mentioned to the most beneficent Sacred and Imperial Presence, which depicts and portrays before our eyes these proceedings of Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí. In face of these proceedings, it would be a proof of the most complete negligence and lack of prudence on the part of the Persian Government

[1] *i.e.* Karbalá and Najaf.

to disregard these acts which may produce such deplorable consequences, and not to set itself to seek some means to remedy or remove them.

'*I see beneath the ashes the glow of fire,*
And it wants but little to burst into a blaze[1].'

"For the character and nature of this misguided sect in the dominions of the Persian Government, and their boldness and audacity in the most perilous enterprises have been repeatedly put to the proof, and it is clear that the principles of this new, false and detestable creed are based on two horrible things, first an extraordinary hostility and enmity towards this Islámic State, and secondly an incredible pitilessness and ruthlessness towards all individuals of this nation, and a readiness to lose their own lives in order to achieve this sinister object. But it is evident that, thanks be to God Most High, through the good dispositions and sincerity of the governors of the two Empires [Persia and Turkey], the developments of friendship and single-mindedness between these two powerful Islámic States have reached such a point that, alike in profit and loss, they have brought about complete participation and equality. How then should it be that the great statesmen of that Empire, after acquainting themselves with these matters, should grudge or withhold their united support and participation to the statesmen of this Sublime State [*i.e.* Persia] in taking the necessary measures for the removal of this [plague]? Therefore, in accordance with the Royal command, resistless as fate, of His Imperial Majesty, the Shadow of God, the Benefactor of all the protected provinces of Persia (may my

[1] This celebrated verse is the first of several written by the Umayyad Governor of Khurásán, Naṣr ibn Sayyár, as a warning to his sovereign on the eve of Abú Muslim's successful rebellion in A.H. 129 (A.D. 746–7).

life be his sacrifice!), I your faithful friend have been ordered to convey these matters to Your Excellency's knowledge by means of a special messenger, and to instruct you without delay to seek an appointment with their most glorious Excellencies the [Ottoman] Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to set forth this matter in such wise as the friendship and harmony of these two Sublime States require, and as the character for benevolence and sound understanding of their Excellencies above mentioned suggests, and, having devoted the deepest and most careful consideration to all its aspects, to request of their extreme benevolence and disinterestedness the removal of this source of mischief from a place like Baghdád, which is the meeting-place of many different peoples and is situated near the frontiers of the protected provinces of Persia.

"This point is agreed upon in the view of our statesmen, that it will not do to leave Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí and his intimate followers there, or to allow fuller scope to their mischievous ideas and probable actions. One of two courses appears proper in the eyes of our statesmen, to wit that if the statesmen of the Ottoman Empire are prepared to cooperate fully in this important matter with the statesmen of this country, without showing any personal consideration for those irreligious and mischievous persons, and, as is fully hoped and expected, do not introduce any discussion foreign to this question into this field wherein stands the foot of State expediency, then the best thing is that explicit orders should be given to His Excellency Námiq Pasha the governor of the Province of Baghdád, while on this side also orders should be issued to the Prince-Governor of Kirmánsháhán, that Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí and such of his followers and familiars as are the cause and root of the mischief should be arrested in such manner as is requisite, and handed over at the

frontier to the officers of the afore-mentioned Prince; and that the Government should detain them, under guard and supervision, in some place in the interior of the country which it regards as suitable, and not allow their evil and mischief to spread. But supposing that the statesmen of that [*i.e.* the Ottoman] Government hesitate, on whatever consideration it may be, to act in accordance with this first alternative, then it is unfailingly necessary that they should arrange as quickly as possible to deport and detain that mischief-maker [*i.e.* Bahá'u'lláh] and his several intimates from Baghdád to some other place in the interior of the Ottoman kingdom which has no means of communication with our frontiers, so that the channel of their mischief-making and sedition may be stopped.

"Let your Excellency take such steps and show such zeal in this matter as accords with this emphatic Imperial command and the despatch of this special [King's] messenger, and let him notify his agreement in writing as soon as possible, that it may be so notified before the Most High and Sacred Presence (may our lives be his sacrifice!).

"Written on the 12th of Dhu'l-Hijjá, A.H. 1278"

(= May 10, 1862).

VII

PERSECUTIONS OF BÁBÍS IN 1888–1891 AT IṢFAHÁN AND YAZD

The persecutions at Si-dih and Najafábád near Iṣfahán took place in the latter part of 1888 and beginning of 1889; Mírzá Ashraf of Ábáda was put to death at Iṣfahán in October, 1888; and the Yazd persecutions took place in May, 1891. Of Mírzá Ashraf's martyrdom I published an account in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1888, pp. 998—9, and concerning the Yazd persecution I received several letters at the time from 'Akká, enclosing one from Yazd, of which I shall here give the translations. First, however, I shall quote extracts from three letters received during the autumn of 1889 and the spring of 1890 from English residents in Persia, which throw some light on the persecutions of Si-dih and Najafábád.

(1) *From Dr Robert Bruce, Church Missionary Society, Julfá, Isfahán; September* 6, 1889.

"Yes, it is quite true that Áqá Mírzá Ashraf of Ábáda was put to death for his religion in the most barbarous manner in Iṣfahán about October last. The hatred of the *Mullás* was not satisfied with his murder; they mutilated his poor body publicly in the *Maydán* in the most savage manner, and then burned what was left of it. Since then we have had two other persecutions of Bábís, one in Si-dih and the

other in Najafábád. In Si-dih, where the Bábí community is small, their houses were burned and their wives and children ill-treated. The men saved themselves by flight to Ṭihrán, and I am told that about 25 of them have just returned to Iṣfahán and are in the Prince's stables in *bast*[1]. In Najafábád there are about 2000 Bábís. They tried the same game with them, but some hundreds of them took refuge in the English Telegraph Office in Julfá, and the Prince took their part and banished from Najafábád to Karbalá the *Mujtahid* who persecuted them, so the result is that they are freer now than they have ever been. I took very great interest in the poor people, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of Persia also; as, if liberty is gained for them, it will be a great step towards breaking the power of the *Mullás* and getting liberty for all. Just before the last persecution of the Bábís the *Mujtahids* in Iṣfahán, especially Ḥájji Najafí, tried a persecution of Jews also, and threatened Christians with the same. The 13 rules (of 'Umar I believe, at least most of them may be traced to him) were enforced for a short time: (1) that no Jew should wear an *'abá*[2]; (2) that they should wear a mark on their dress; (3) not to ride any beast of burden in the city; (4) not to leave their houses on a wet day[3]; (5) not to purchase merchandize from a Muslim; (6) that when a Jew meets a Muslim he is to salute him and walk behind him; (7) not to return abuse; (8) not to build a house higher than a Muslim neighbour; (9) not to eat in the presence of a Muslim during Ramaẓán, etc., etc."

[1] *i.e.* sanctuary.

[2] Cloak.

[3] This rule used also to be applied to the *gabrs*, or Zoroastrians, of Yazd. The reason is that an impure creature (such as a dog or an unbeliever) only defiles by contact when it is wet.

(2) *From Sidney Churchill, Esqr., British Legation, Ṭihrán, December* 12, 1889.

"The Bábí sect are multiplying in numbers daily, and their increasing multitudes are giving cause for anxiety as to the attitude which the authorities will have to adopt towards them in the immediate future. The extraordinary development of this faith is not quite in itself a source of surprise. The Persian as a rule is ready to adopt any new creed, no matter what it is; but when he finds in it as one of its fundamental principles the liberty of thought and the expression thereof, with the ultimate possibility as a result that he may shake off the oppression he suffers at the hands of the local authorities, who are beyond the sphere of the Sháh's immediate supervision and control, he readily affiliates himself with those holding such doctrines with the object of combating existing evils.

"The spread of Bábism of late in Persia, particularly its development during the Sháh's absence, has caused much surprise, and is likely to give us trouble. But the question is, what are the real ideas of most of those professing Bábism. Do they look upon themselves as followers of a new religion, or as the members of a society for political and social reform?..."

(3) *From Walter Townley, Esq.* (*now Sir Walter Townley*), *British Legation, Ṭihrán, April* 13, 1890.

"I am afraid I have not been able to do much for you in the furtherance of your two requests beyond having searched through our archives from A.D. 1868 to 1875 for some

reference to the young Bábí who brought Bahá's letter to the Sháh[1], without, I am sorry to say, finding any notification at all of the event, but I am told that it was in the summer (about July) of 1871 or 1872, and have still hopes of getting an authentic date fixed. Had such an event occurred under our present Minister it would most undoubtedly have been recorded, but in those days Persia was not so well known as it is now, and affairs were conducted less minutely....

"You have doubtless heard of the late Bábí massacre at Iṣfahán, and I will only therefore tell you, in case you have not, the principal points. They are inhabitants of a district called Si-dih, and last summer a large number of them, owing to constant persecution, left their villages and came to Iṣfahán, whence after a time they returned home, with the exception of a certain number who came to Ṭihrán. On the return of these men to their homes about six weeks ago they were met and attacked by a mob headed by a man called Áqá Najafí, and seven or eight of them were killed and their bodies burnt with oil. They then took refuge at the Telegraph Office, and finally, after persistent representations from this Legation, have been received by the Deputy Governor. It is hoped that on the Ẓill[u's-Sulṭán]'s return in a few days they will be able to go home. Áqá Najafí has been summoned to Ṭihrán and well received. Of course they are said to be Bábís, though there seems to be no real proof that they are of that persuasion. When the murders took place they were under the care of an escort which was intimidated by the mob and left them."

Concerning the Yazd persecution I received four letters in Persian, of which translations of the relevant portions here follow.

[1] *i.e.* Mírzá Badí'. See pp. 262—4 *supra* and footnote to p. 262.

(1) *Translation of part of a letter written to me from 'Akká by 'Abbás Efendí 'Abdu'l-Bahá on August* 19, 1891.

"The events which have recently taken place in Persia have darkened the world; one cannot speak of them save with weeping eyes and burning heart, for their recital is enough to break the hardest heart and wring from it sighs and groans. Briefly they are as follows. For some while the partisans of Mírzá Malkom Khán[1] in Persia have been in a state of activity and agitation, and engaged in carrying on an active propaganda, censuring and blaming the heads of the administration and their actions. Sometimes by implication and suggestion, but in private in the plainest language, they violently attacked the conduct of the Prime Minister[2] and loudly complained of the incompetence of the government and the thoughtlessness of the ruler. At length the newspaper *Qánún*[3] appeared, and Shaykh Jamálu'd-Dín al-Afghán[4] too, from every side and corner, began to criticize and condemn the government, with which he was highly displeased, and in the course of his conversation used openly to excite and inflame the people and disparage and attack [the Sháh]. According to accounts received, matters reached such a point that they wrote pamphlets and scattered them in the streets and *bázárs*, and even, by a clever stratagem, succeeded in conveying a most strongly-worded letter to the Sháh himself. And since they are well acquainted with the Sháh's character, they made it appear that there was a large party which would soon raise up the standard of

[1] See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 32—45.

[2] *i.e.* the *Amínu's-Sulṭán*, afterwards entitled *Atábak-i-A'ẓam*, who was finally assassinated by 'Abbás Áqá of Tabríz on August 31, 1907. See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 150—1.

[3] See *Persian Revolution*, pp. 35—42.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 1—30.

liberty. So the government determined to attack them, thinking to extirpate and crush them. The partisans of Malkom Khán and Jamálu'd-Dín devised a plan to alarm, intimidate, and greatly disturb the government by involving the Bábís also in suspicion, and wrote pamphlets so worded that it might appear that there was an alliance between these and themselves. To be brief, they arrested Malkom Khán's brother with your friend the Mírzá of Hamadán[1] and several others, and also two Bábís, and the government officials, without any enquiry or investigation, began on every side to persecute this oppressed community, although these poor innocents, as I swear by God's Might, knew absolutely nothing of this agitation and disturbance, non-interference in political matters being required by their creed.

"No sooner did this news reach Iṣfahán than the Prince [*Ẓillu's-Sulṭán*], one of whose confidential advisers had been accused and arrested, considered it expedient, for the exculpation of himself from all suspicion of complicity in this plot and for the concealment of his own evil deeds, to inaugurate a violent and cruel persecution of the Bábís. So he entered into correspondence with [his son] Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla, and a persecution was set on foot in the city of Yazd and the surrounding villages, where such cruelties and injustices were perpetrated as are unparalleled in the history of the world.

"Amongst other instances, with chains and fetters, swords and scimitars, they dragged seven men, to whose purity, nobility, excellence, and virtue all bore witness, who had

[1] A former attaché at the Persian Legation in London. He was recalled to Persia when Mírzá Malkom Khán was dismissed from the post of Minister. Some time afterwards, in the early part of this year (1891), he was arrested, cast into prison, and, I believe, narrowly escaped death.

never in their lives injured even an ant, and against whom nothing could be alleged save that they were Bábís, before a few ignorant wretches like unto Annas and Caiaphas who account themselves learned, and commanded them to disavow their connection with this creed. When they refused to do this, and indeed confessed and admitted it, they beheaded each of these poor oppressed ones in a public thoroughfare, affixed them to gibbets, drágged their bodies with ropes through the streets and *bázárs*, and at length cut them in fragments and burned them with fire. Some others they spirited away, and it is not known what sufferings were inflicted upon them. About a thousand persons have fled from Yazd into the wilderness and open country, some have died from thirst in the mountains and plains, and all their possessions have been plundered and spoiled. Oppression and tyranny have so destroyed and uprooted these poor oppressed people that for several days the families and wives and children of the murdered men were weeping, sorrowing, and shivering, hungry and thirsty, in underground cellars, unable even to ask for water; none had any pity for them, but only blows; and indeed the common people, incited and goaded on by the clergy and the government, strove to injure them in every way, in which endeavour they showed neither ruth nor remission. Only after some days certain Christian merchants who were passing through Yazd brought bread and water for the children of the victims; but the poor unfortunates were so filled with fear and apprehension that they would not open the door. That night all the townsfolk decorated and illuminated the city and made great rejoicings that so signal a victory and so glorious a triumph had been accomplished, not seeing in their ignorance that in truth they are striking the axe on their own roots and rejoicing thereat, and overthrowing the foundations of

their own house and accounting it eternal life. Moreover they fail to see that the tears of the oppressed are a rising torrent and the sighs of their victims a kindling fire!..."

(2) *Translation of a letter written to me from 'Akká by Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, on Muḥarram* 15, A.H. 1309 (*August* 21, A.D. 1891).

"HE IS THE SPEAKING, THE ENDURING.

"*The appearance of afflictions and calamities in the Land of Yá* (*Yazd*). The eye of Justice weepeth: Equity waileth! O God! In Persia men glory in cruelty, oppression, ruthlessness, and the attributes of beasts of prey! The wolves of the islands of ignorance and folly have torn God's lambs. Grievous loss they account great gain. To-day lamentation arises from all things in the Land of Yá, and the moans and mourning of the Josephs of the Spirit rise up from the pit of the seat of the oppressors. A grievous wound hath been inflicted on the bosom of Justice, and a sore blow hath fallen on the frame of Equity. The hunters of hatred lie in ambush for the gazelles of the plains of love and purity, and shameless unblushing tyrants pursue after babes in their cradles. In place of Justice and its hosts stand Oppression and its troops. Mercy has become in Persia like the Phoenix, a mere name without substance, and equity like the Philosopher's Stone[1], heard of, but not seen!

"On the evening of the 23rd of Ramaẓán[2] a mighty dust and smoke of spirit rose up from the hatred and malice of the unbelievers and scoffers, in such wise that it obscured the radiance of the luminary of Justice, nay, blotted it out.

[1] *Kibrít-i-Aḥmar*, lit. "Red Sulphur."

[2] A.H. 1308 = May 2, 1891.

Without cause or reason they seized two poor friendless victims, Áqá 'Alí and Áqá 'Alí Aṣghar (upon whom be the Splendour of God and His Grace), in the mosque of Shaykh Ḥasan of Sabzawár, and carried them in the custody of Ḥájji Ná'ib before the Prince with every kind of indignity. Then they inflicted on them all manner of punishments, and afterwards imprisoned them. They took from them, as is related, all the money they could get and then released them.

"After this another smoke arose from the well-springs of wickedness and sin, and that seizure of saintly souls was at another time. They arrested seven, amongst them being Mullá 'Alí of Sabzawár and likewise Mullá Mahdí (upon whom be the Splendour of God and His Grace). The Prince said to one, 'Recant, that I may release thee.' That truly devoted man replied, 'For forty years I have been awaiting this day: praise be to God that to-day I have attained to it!' Another, as he was being dragged through the streets, cried to the executioners, *farráshes*, and spectators, 'O people! The Chief of martyrs said, "Is there anyone who will help me (*yanṣuru-ní*)?" But I say, "Is there anyone who will look upon me (*yanẓuru-ní*)?"'

"At all events, in such wise was the fire of persecution kindled that the pen is unable to portray it. These two saintly souls, together with the others, laid down their lives with the utmost steadfastness. The blood of these it is which now causes the people of Persia to hear somewhat of the matter and maintain silence, or even acquiesce. The people of Persia have held no intercourse with strangers because (God is our refuge!) they regarded them all as unclean, and accounted it unlawful to converse with them. Now, by the Grace of this Most Mighty Manifestation, the gates of Wisdom are opened, and these immoderate barbarisms,

these shunnings and repellings, are departing from their midst, while He hath gladdened them with the good tidings of friendly converse and association, and caused them to attain thereunto. The blood of lovers hath wrought miracles throughout the horizons and hath driven away the causes of isolation with the scourge of the *Bayán*, substituting in their place an approach to peace and quietude, so that now most of them [*i.e.* the Persians] hold friendly and familiar intercourse with all nations of the world. In truth there hath been made manifest a love for all mankind which seemed to human eyes an impossibility. Blessed is the Beneficent One, the Lord of great bounty! Now all have become eyes to see and ears to hear. The hosts of confession have driven denial from the field. Think on the influence of the Supreme Pen and the power of the Most High Word, how great a change they have wrought and how they have brought nigh [what seemed unattainable].

"To return, however. They martyred those of whom we have spoken with the worst torments in the world. One they strangled to death with the bow-string, and after him they slew and carried away the rest. Some with stones, some with sticks, some with chains, and some with weapons of war, they tore in pieces those holy frames. Afterwards they set fire [to their bodies] and cast their bones into pits. According to the accounts received, a thousand persons have fled into the wilderness, neither is it known whither they have gone or what has become of them. And in those days none enquired after the widows and children of these wronged ones nor went near them, through fear and dread, and the unfortunate ones remained without food. But, as has been heard, some of the followers of His Holiness the Spirit[1]

[1] *Rúḥu'lláh*, *i.e.* Jesus Christ.

(may God strengthen them!) went with the utmost secrecy and without the knowledge of any man and succoured them, sending them daily provision. O spiritual friend! to-day lamentation arises from the very pebbles in the deserts and wailing goes up from the trees! On the night of that day by command of the government the people held high festival and made great rejoicing, as though they had captured a kingdom."

(3) *Translation of a letter written to me from Alexandria on Muḥarram* 19, A.H. 1309 (*August* 19, A.D. 1891) *by Áqá Muḥammad 'Alí, merchant, of Yazd.*

"The first arrests on the ground of Bábíism took place on the evening of the 23rd of Ramaẓán, A.H. 1308 (May 2, 1891), in the mosque. Shaykh Ḥasan of Sabzawár, a prominent member of the clergy, caused two men, named Áqá 'Alí and Áqá ['Alí] Aṣghar, to be seized. Gradually they arrested twelve persons in all, inflicted on them several severe beatings, and cast them into prison. On the morning of Monday the 9th of Shawwál (May 18, 1891) they brought seven of them before Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla, the Governor of Yazd. Several of the clergy sat concealed [in the room]. The Prince said, 'The Bábís are released: let them go.' After giving them these good tidings he conjured them, saying, 'By my life, are you Bábís?' They answered, 'Yes.' Then the clergy wrote their death warrant. They first ordered one named Aṣghar, a man of about thirty years of age, to be strangled with the bow-string. Before carrying the sentence into execution they said to him, 'Revile [the Báb].' He refused. Then they applied the cord and cruelly slew him. The six others were present

there. Then they came out thence with trumpets and drums and many other instruments of music, accompanied by a great multitude shouting and clamouring. At the back of the Telegraph Office they tried to make Mullá Mahdí of Khawírak (an old man about eighty years of age) curse the Báb. He answered, 'For forty years I have been expecting this day.' So they cut his throat even where he stood, and ere he was dead ripped open his belly and cast stones at him. After that they carried away his body and set fire to it. They next beheaded Áqá 'Alí (a man of about thirty years of age) opposite to the gate of Jazíra-i-Mullá, stuck the head on a spear, and stoned the body. Mullá 'Alí of Sabzawár they brought to the door of Shaykh Ḥasan of Sabzawár. He cried out, 'The Imám Ḥusayn, the Chief of martyrs, said to the people, "Will any help me?" but I say, "Will any look upon me?"' Him also they beheaded, and cast stones at his body. And his age was about thirty-five. Then they beheaded Áqá Muḥammad Báqir at the door of the *Ṣadr's* house. He also was about thirty-five years old. Two others, brothers, they carried to the Maydán-i-Sháh. According to some accounts they bound Áqá Aṣghar (aged about twenty-five) to a tree, first cut off his hands, then beheaded and stoned him. The other brother, Áqá Ḥasan, aged twenty years, they beat and chased about, saying, 'Revile the Báb!' He answered, 'What should I say? Do what you are commanded.' One of those present cried out, 'Let every one who loves 'Alí strike a blow at him.' A man thrust a sword into his side, and the rest then cut his body to pieces with their daggers, while another drove a spear into his breast. Then the executioner severed his head from his body, stuck it on his knife, and carried it to Shaykh Ḥasan of Sabzawár, famed for his learning, from whom he received a present of ten *túmáns* (£3). The body,

as it would seem, was burned, while the head was paraded through that quarter of the town. Some of the bodies they dragged in the dust round the *bázárs*, while the people pelted them with stones, or struck them with sticks. Afterwards they carried away what was left of the bodies and cast them all together into a well. Then, by the Prince's command, they illuminated and decorated the city. For two nights the populace continued their rejoicings, and shut up all the shops in the *bázárs*. One can easily imagine what took place at such a time: the people congratulated one another, and played music at the doors of the murdered men, while their poor widows and children shut themselves within and none dared bring anything for them, neither did they dare to go out. Some paid fines and were suffered to go forth, and some were cast into prison. At length after all this they seized a saintly old man named Ḥájjí Mullá Muḥammad Ibráhím *Mas'ila-gú*, who had always been noted for his learning, virtue, and piety, and had afterwards become a Bábí, and imprisoned him. Some Europeans made intercession for him. At length the Prince said, 'I will not kill him; I will send him to Ṭihrán.' But, as it would appear, traces of his mangled limbs and body were afterwards seen outside the city, and in all probability he too was secretly put to death.

"Since the utmost tumult and disorder prevail, it is impossible to obtain an accurate account of all that took place. I have written it very briefly: the full details far exceed this. We have no certain account of the cruelties and indignities suffered by Ḥájjí Muḥammad Ibráhím. The greater part of what happened I have not written, and much is not known. According to later information quiet has been restored and the arrests have ceased. Since that we have had no further news."

(4) *Translation of a letter written from Yazd on Shawwál* 15, A.H. 1308 (*May* 24, 1891) *by one Ḥusayn to Ḥájji Sayyid 'Alí Shírází at 'Ishqábád; and by him communicated to me.*

"On the evening of the 23rd of the month of Ramaẓán A.H. 1308 (May 2, A.D. 1891) two persons, named respectively Áqá 'Alí Aṣghar Yúzdárúní and Áqá Gázargáhí, went to the mosque of Amír Chaqmáq. The people who were in the mosque recognised these two as Bábís, and said to them, 'You are Bábís; why do you come to the mosque? Curse [the Báb], or we will torment you.' They answered, 'We are not Bábís.' 'If you are not Bábís,' said their persecutors, 'then curse.' As they refused to curse or revile [the Báb], the people loaded them with abuse, and raised a clamour, crying, 'These two men are Bábís and have entered our mosque,' and began to insult and maltreat them. Ḥájjí Ná'ib, the *Farrásh-báshí* of Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla, who was present in the mosque, seized these two men and carried them before the Prince. They were severely beaten, cast into prison, and fined. Three days later they were released.

"Three days after their release, Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla again demanded them at the hands of the *Farrásh-báshí*, who set himself to discover them. One Mahdí by name, the son of Ustád Báqir the druggist, offered his services to the *Farrásh-báshí*, saying, 'I know where they are, and will point them out to you.' So he accompanied the *Farrásh-báshí*, together with ten *farráshes*, as a guide, and led them to the house of Ustád 'Abdu'r-Raḥím *Mushkí-báf*, where they arrested these two men and five others who were with them in the house. The seven they seized and brought before the Prince-governor, Jalálu'd-Dawla, striking them

often on the way about the face and head, and finally casting them into prison. The names of the other five prisoners were, Mullá 'Alí of Sabzawár, Aṣghar, Ḥasan, Áqá Báqir, and Mullá Mahdí.

"Next day Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla summoned them before him and interrogated them, bidding them curse and revile [the Báb], that he might set them free. They refused to do this, and frankly avowed that they were Bábís.

"The clergy, who have ever been mischief-makers and are always eager to provoke trouble and bloodshed, hastened to avail themselves of this opportunity, and urged Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla to kill these seven men. So far as can be ascertained, the Prince wrote his consent and desired the clergy to ratify it with their seals and signatures. So they agreed to make these seven pass beneath the sword of cruelty and injustice. While the Prince was interrogating them, some of his own attendants who were in his presence were filled with wonder and amazement, saying to themselves, 'These have done nothing for which they deserve to incur wrath and punishment!'

"On the morning of Monday the 9th of Shawwál (May 18, 1891) the following members of the clergy, Shaykh Ḥasan of Sabzawár, Shaykh Muḥammad Taqí of Sabzawár, Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí *Mudarris*, Mullá Ḥasan of Ardakán, and Mullá Ḥusayn of Ardakán came to Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla's palace. They were concealed behind a curtain, and the seven Bábís were then brought in. The Prince said to them, 'I wish to set you free. Now by my head I conjure you to tell me truly whether you are Bábís or not.' 'Yes,' they replied, 'we are Bábís,' confessing and acknowledging it. The clergy who were concealed behind the curtain of deceit heard their avowal, and at once wrote

out and sealed the warrant for their death. The executioner was summoned forthwith and ordered to slay them. 'Alí Aṣghar was strangled with the bow-string in the Prince's presence in the most cruel manner. The other six were led through the *bázárs* with music and beating of drums to the market-place, where they were killed one after another. The rabble of the people mobbed them, striking them with sticks, spitting on them, reviling them and mocking them. As the throat of each one was cut, the mob tore open the body to look at the heart, saying, 'How bold they are in the presence of death and the death-warrant and the headsman! With what strength of heart do they yield up their life, while no word of cursing or reviling escapes their lips! We must see what sort of hearts they have.'

"When they had slain all the seven, they poured tar over their bodies and set fire to them. Never before this day have such behaviour, such malevolence and wickedness, been seen in any people as are seen amongst these Shí'ites in Persia. One of the Bábís (he who was named Aṣghar) they bound to a tree in the market-place, cut off his hands with the sword, then ripped open his belly, and finally beheaded him. Another, Ḥasan, they wounded in the head with swords and sticks, driving him about the market-place and bidding him curse and revile [the Báb]. 'What should I say?' he answered, 'do whatever is commanded you.' So they cut him in pieces.

"Till sunset of that day the bodies of these seven were in the hands of the roughs and rabble of the populace, and they brutally pelted them with stones, set fire to them, and burned them. After they had killed them and burned their bodies they asked permission of Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla to illuminate the city, and he give them permission for two nights, but such was the disorderly conduct of the roughs and the

exultation of the clergy on the first night that permission for the next night was withdrawn.

"The widows and children of these seven men dared not, for fear of the mob, leave their houses or enter the *bázárs* even to obtain food and drink, and so remained without water or food until at length some Christian merchants of the Dutch nation sent provisions to them.

"After the blood of these seven had been shed, a Bábí named Ḥájjí Mullá Muḥammad Ibráhím *Mas'ila-gú*, who had gone to a place ten hours distant from the city towards the mountains, was followed and arrested by Ḥájjí Ná'ib the *Farrásh-báshí*, severely beaten, brought back with every indignity to the city, carried before Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla, and cast into prison. His wife and children went to the Dutch merchants and entreated them to intercede and deliver him from the cruel clutches of his persecutors. These accordingly went before the Prince, but he would not admit their mediation, and declared that he had already sent the man to Ṭihrán. On the following night he slew him with his own hands and had the body cast into a well.

"By reason of these events many persons have fled into the surrounding country, and a strange commotion and disquietude prevail. The authorities have made it a pretext for extorting money, and have fined and mulcted many persons. They have also arrested several more, who are still in prison. They seized one named Áqá Ḥusayn, a silk-merchant, who had in his possession nearly five hundred *túmáns'* (£150) worth of silk belonging to himself and others, all of which they took from him. The clergy and Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla have made this thing a means of obtaining money, and have extorted large sums from all [the Bábís], leaving their wives and children without bread.

"Never before has such injustice been seen. Why

should loyal and obedient subjects, who have been guilty of no offence, and who seek but to reform men's morals and to increase the welfare of the world, be subjected to such cruel persecutions by order of the foolish ones of the earth who show themselves under a garb of knowledge? Why should they be compelled to flee as outlaws and to wander as beggars from door to door, or be scattered abroad in mountains and deserts? Loyalty forbids us to appeal to foreign Powers, and we can but cry in our anguish, 'O God! We submit with patience and resignation to what we suffer at the hands of these godless, merciless and cruel people!' Thus do we tell our sorrow to our God, praying Him to take away from us the wickedness and oppression of the froward and ignorant ones of the earth. We have no helper but God, and none to support and succour us save Him.

"This which has been written is a full account of the events of these days and the tyranny of the clergy and Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla. We do not complain of the cruelty of the common folk, for they are completely under the control of the clergy and Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla. The city is now in a most disturbed state, and the roughs and rowdies act as they please; whatever they do no one hinders them. Several other persons were cast into prison, but it is not known what they will do with them. I have nothing further to add."

VIII

ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MÍRZÁ YAḤYÁ ṢUBḤ-I-AZAL, COMMUNICATED BY HIS SON RIḌWÁN 'ALÍ TO THE LATE CLAUDE DELAVAL COBHAM, Esqre, ON JULY 11, 1912, TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

"Know that the Eternal Fruit (*Thamara-i-Azaliyya* = *Ṣubh-i-Azal*) fell somewhat sick in July, 1911. Gradually he ceased to go from one house to another, until he even ceased to come down from the upper story, and lost his appetite. In the month of September his condition became very critical; he lost all strength and a great debility appeared in his body. He was compelled to accept the ministrations of the physician, who, however, was unable to cure him. In consequence of material troubles and endless vexations he had no rest, and finally on the 28th of April [1912] his condition became suddenly much worse. At seven o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 29th of April, he bade farewell to this transitory world and passed into the world of Immortality. His household and its members applied to the government and asked permission from the Governor [*i.e.* Commissioner] of Famagusta to deposit his body in a place which belonged to that Blessed Being and which is situated about one European mile outside Famagusta near to the house of Bárútjí-záda Ḥájji Ḥáfiẓ Efendí. His Excellency the Commissioner granted this permission with the utmost kindness and consideration, and a grave was dug in that place and built up with stones. A coffin was then constructed and prepared, and in the afternoon all the government officials, by command of the Commissioner and at their own wish and desire, together with a number of the people of the country, all on foot, bore the corpse of that Holy Being on their shoulders, with pious ejaculations and prayers, and

every mark of extreme respect, from his house to the site of the Holy Sepulchre. But none were to be found there of witnesses to the *Bayán*[1], therefore the *Imám-Jum'a* of Famagusta and some others of the doctors of Islám, having uttered [the customary] invocations, placed the body in the coffin and buried it. And when they brought it forth from the gate of Famagusta some of the Europeans also accompanied the Blessed Body, and the son of the Quarantine doctor took a photograph of it with a great number [of the bystanders], and again took another photograph at the Blessed Tomb[2].

"Now this Holy Person [*i.e. Ṣubḥ-i-Azal*] before his death had nominated [as his executor or successor] the son of Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad Hádí of Dawlatábád, who was one of the leading believers and relatively better than the others, in accordance with the command of His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb], glorious in his mention, who commanded saying, 'And if God causeth mourning to appear in thy days, then make manifest the Eight Paths,' etc., until he says, 'But if not, then the authority shall return to the Witnesses of the *Bayán*[3].' Therefore he appointed him, though hitherto no one has found his testament amongst the writings of that Blessed Being. Moreover twenty-eight years ago he had written for himself a lengthy form of visitation[4] at the beginning of which he wrote *Li'l-Waḥídi'l-Farídi'l-Mawtúr*. Please God after the lapse of some days I will write it out for

[1] *i.e.* Bábís.

[2] These photographs were published by Mr H. C. Lukach in his book *The Fringe of the East*, pp. 264 and 266, and he has most kindly permitted me to reproduce them here.

[3] This obscure quotation is doubtless from the *Bayán*, but I have not found it, and do not know the context.

[4] *Ziyárat-náma*, *i.e.* a form of prayer to be used by those visiting the tomb of a saint or martyr.

Photographs of the Funeral of Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal* at Famagusta, Cyprus, on April 29, 1912.

(Reproduced by kind permission of Mr H. C. Lukach and Messrs Macmillan from his book *The Fringe of the East*.)

To face p. 312.

your Excellency and send it. I cannot copy it now because my eyes see badly. Please God you will forgive me. I hope that God Most High will vouchsafe a complete cure to your Honour and remove the sickness which you have.

"At all events that Most Blessed Being four hours before his death wept and sorrowed because those of the notable and great men of Europe and other lands whom he had met were not present at his last breath. I have nothing more to add except that whatever difficulties you and equally Mr Edward Browne may have, if you will refer them to me I will so far as possible give a satisfactory answer. The Light be upon you, and may God heal you and assuage your suffering.

"July 11, 1912. C. P." (Constantine the Persian).

The above account of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's death and burial was communicated to me on September 3, 1912, by Mr C. D. Cobham, for whom it was written in Persian by Riẓwán 'Alí (or, as he has called himself since his conversion to Christianity, ὁ Πέρσης Κωνσταντῖνος). On the preceding May 19 Mr H. C. Lukach, secretary to the High Commissioner of Cyprus, had already written to ask me for a copy of my "brochure on the subject of the community of Bábís dwelling at Famagusta," adding that "the Báb" (meaning Ṣubḥ-i-Azal) "died on April 29th last, aet. circâ 82." On the 5th of September he very kindly communicated to me the following further particulars concerning Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's family and possessions:

"I am now able to give you a little further information with regard to the family of the late Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.

"It appears that Ṣubḥ-i-Azal left a letter saying that he of his sons who resembled him most closely in his mode of life and principles was to be his successor. The point as to

which of the sons fulfils this condition has not yet been decided; consequently all the children would appear at present to be co-heirs.

"The eldest surviving son is Aḥmad Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, a poor man who is obliged to earn his living as a railway porter in Famagusta. The most affluent of the brothers is 'Alí[1], who keeps a shop. Another, Mehmed (*i.e.* Muḥammad) is not quite right in his head. The youngest, and, as far as I can gather, the favourite son (by a second wife) is one Taqiyyu'd-Dín, who was always near his father. 'Constantine the Persian,' alias 'Costi[2]', has been away from Famagusta for some time. It may be that he will consent to sell some of his father's manuscripts in his possession. The other brothers are at present not prepared to sell theirs.

"No steps have, as far as I am aware, yet been taken to elect a *walí* (*i.e.* successor or executor). I am afraid this information is meagre, but, having been on Mount Troodos for the last few months, I have had no opportunity of making personal investigations in Famagusta."

On the 23rd of January, 1913, Mr Lukach wrote to me again, enclosing a letter from a Syrian named Mughabghab who lived in Famagusta, and kindly offering his help should I desire to enter into negotiations for the purchase of any of the late Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's manuscripts. From Mr Mughabghab's letter it appeared that Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's son "Costi" (*i.e.* Riẓwán 'Alí) was prepared to sell his share of his father's manuscripts, nine in number, but was anxious that his brothers should not know of his intention, as they desired to keep all these books and manuscripts together. The prices demanded

[1] This, I think, must be 'Abdu'l-'Alí, who kept a shop in Varoshia, a suburb of Famagusta.

[2] His proper original name was Riẓwán 'Alí.

were, in my opinion, excessive, and I did not pursue the matter further. The list was as follows:

(1) *Kitábu'n-Núr* ("Book of Light") (see p. 216 *supra*), the first and largest of the works so entitled, composed at Baghdád, £30.

(2) *Díwánu'l-Azal* (see p. 214 *suprá*), £20.

(3) *Laḥadhát*, £20.

(4) *Saṭa'át*, £20.

(5) *Jawámi'u'l-Hayákil*, £20.

(6) *Lawámi'*, £20.

(7) *Lawáḥidh wa Nafáyi'* (507 *súras*), £20.

(8) *As-Sawáṭi'*, £20.

(9) *Laṭá'ifu'l-Azal*, £20.

Four of these manuscripts (Nos. 3, 4, 6 and 7 in the above list) have, as I have recently learned (Sept. 26, 1917), been offered to the British Museum. The title of No. 7 is somewhat differently given as *Lawáḥidhu'n-Nafá'iḥ*, which is no doubt correct.

IX

LIST OF THE DESCENDANTS OF MÍRZÁ BUZURG OF NÚR, THE FATHER BOTH OF BAHÁ'U'LLÁH AND OF ṢUBḤ-I-AZAL

This list was sent to me in June, 1912, by the already-mentioned Azalí scribe of Iṣfahán, resident in Ṭihrán, with whom I succeeded in establishing relations, and who supplied me with numerous precious documents. The original is written, not very distinctly, by a certain Mírzá Ibráhím Khán, the son of Fáṭima Khánim, the niece of Mírzá Buzurg's daughter (the half-sister of both Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal) Sháh Sulṭán Khánim, commonly known as *Ḥájjí* (or *Ḥájjiya*) *Khánim-i-Buzurg*. It is accompanied by a more legible transcript by the aforesaid scribe.

Mírzá Buzurg seems to have had six wives (unnamed in the list) who bore him children, and who are here distinguished by Roman numbers.

I. (1) Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.*

II. (2) Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí *Bahá'u'lláh*: (3) Mírzá Músá *Kalímu'lláh*[1], who followed Bahá: (4) an unnamed daughter.

III. (5) Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan (Azalí).

IV. (6) Mírzá-qulí: (7) an unnamed daughter (both Bahá'ís).

[1] The only one of Mírzá Músá's sons with whom I was acquainted was Majdu'd-Dín, but he had three other sons named 'Alí Riḍá, Jamíl and Kamál.

V. (8) Ḥájji Mírzá Riẓá-qulí, known as *Ḥakím* (the Philosopher), d. A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893–4), aet. 90: (9) Sháh Sulṭán Khánim, commonly called *Ḥájji Khánim-i-Buzurg*, d. A.H. 1322 (= A.D. 1904–5), aet. 84. She wrote in 1310/1892–3 a refutation of 'Abdu'l-Bahá ('Abbás Efendí) known as *Risála-i-'Amma* ("the Aunt's Epistle")[1]: (10) Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí, known as *Paríshán*, d. A.H. 1292 (= A.D. 1875–6), aet. 45: (11) Mírzá Ibráhím, aet. 30: (12) Fáṭima Khánim, still living in A.D. 1912, aet. 70. All these five were Azalís.

VI. (13) Ḥusayniyya (Azalí).

In 1912 five of Fáṭima Khánim's children, three daughters (Fakhriyya, Ḥamida and Zamzam) and two sons (Muḥammad Khán and Ibráhím Khán), all Azalís, were still living.

Descendants of Mírzá Ḥusayn 'Alí Bahá'u'lláh.

Bahá'u'lláh had two wives, each of whom bore him six children.

In 1251/1835, when 18 years of age, he married Nawwáb, who bore him:

(1) Ṣádiq, who died at the age of 3 or 4.

(2) 'Abbás, now known as 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who was born in 1257/1841. He had four daughters, two of whom were married to Mírzá Hádí and Mírzá Muḥsin respectively.

[1] See p. 227 *supra*.

(3) Bahiyya Khánim, b. 1260/1844 (unmarried).

(4) 'Alí Muḥammad, d. aged 7 in Mázandarán.

(5) Mahdí, who died at 'Akká 1287/1870–1.

(6) 'Alí Muḥammad, b. and d. at Baghdád, aged 2.

In 1266/1849 he married his cousin Maḥd-i-'Ulyá, who bore him:

(1) Muḥammad 'Alí in 1270/1853, the rival claimant to 'Abbás. He has three sons, Shu'á'u'lláh, Amínu'lláh and Músá.

(2) Ṣamadiyya Khánim, b. at Baghdád, d. aged 49 in 1322/1904–5. She was married to her cousin Majdu'd-Dín (son of Mírzá Músá) and had two daughters.

(3) 'Alí Muḥammad, d. at Baghdád, aged 2.

(4) Sádhajiyya Khánim[1], b. at Baghdád, d. aged 2 at Constantinople.

(5) Ẓiyá'u'lláh, b. at Adrianople 1282/1865, d. at Ḥayfá, aged 34, 1316/1898. He was married, but died without issue.

(6) Badí'u'lláh, b. at Adrianople 1285/1868.

Descendants of Mírzá Yaḥyá Ṣubḥ-i-Azal.

Concerning those of *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal's* family who came with him to Cyprus and resided or were born there full particulars, abstracted from official documents preserved in the island, were published by me in Vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 376—386. They included two wives, Fáṭima and Ruqayya; nine sons, of whom the two eldest, Núru'lláh

[1] I have been informed that Bahá'u'lláh had another daughter named *Fárúqiyya*, who married Sayyid 'Alí Afnán and bore him two sons.

and Hádí, seem to have resided in Persia and only to have visited their father occasionally, while a third, Aḥmad, left Cyprus for Constantinople (probably with his wife Fáṭima and his four-year old daughter 'Ádila) in 1884; and five daughters. Of the sons whom I met in Cyprus the eldest and most intelligent was 'Abdu'l-'Alí[1]. The next, Riẓwán 'Alí, who was for some time in the service of the late C. D. Cobham, Esq., Commissioner of Larnaca, turned Christian and took the name of "Constantine the Persian." He died recently. Most of the Azalí MSS. in the British Museum were transcribed by him.

[1] See p. 314, n. 1 *supra*.

Mírzá Yaḥyá *Ṣubḥ-i-Azal* (seated in centre) and three of his sons, 'Abdu'l-'Alí to the left of the picture, and Riẓwán 'Alí ("Constantine the Persian") and another to the right.

To face p. 322.

X

THIRTY HERETICAL DOCTRINES ASCRIBED TO THE BÁBÍS IN THE *IḤQÁQU'L-ḤAQQ* OF ÁQÁ MUḤAMMAD TAQÍ OF HAMADÁN

Mention has been already made (pp. 189—190 *supra*) of a very elaborate and detailed refutation of the Bábís entitled *Iḥqáqu'l-Ḥaqq*, in the course of which (pp. 244—279) the author, Áqá Muḥammad Taqí of Hamadán, enumerates some thirty heresies which he ascribes to the Bábís (including under this term the Bahá'ís and the Azalís) and which he endeavours to refute. This portion of the work, which gives a convenient synopsis of most of the characteristic doctrines of this sect, I shall here abridge and summarize in my own words for the information of those who desire to form a general idea of Bábí theology, and to understand the extreme aversion with which it is regarded by Muslims, alike of the Sunní and Shí'a persuasions.

1. *Denial of miracles.*

They assert that God does not violate the laws of nature, and that the miracles ascribed in the scriptures and in tradition to the Prophets are to be explained allegorically. (Bahá'u'lláh's *Íqán*, one of the chief polemical works of the Bábís, affords many instances of such allegorical interpretation of signs and wonders; and when more or less miraculous occurrences are mentioned by Bábí historians and biographers, *e.g.* in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jadíd* or "New History," care is almost always taken by the writer to explain that he attaches little importance to them, and that they are of no evidential value.)

2. *The only miracle is the Revelation itself.*

They assert that the receiving of revelations and the production of a Scripture or revealed Book are sufficient in themselves to establish the claim to Prophethood, without any adventitious support from such miracles as are generally ascribed to the great Prophets of yore. (In this connection the Bábís are very fond of quoting *Qur'án* xviii, 110 and xli, 5: "*I am only a human being like unto yourselves* [*but*] *revelations are made to me.*")

3. *Revelation not subject to the laws of grammar.*

The Báb's grammar, especially in his Arabic utterances, afforded an easy target for criticism, being, in fact, judged by ordinary standards, extremely incorrect[1]. His reply to his critics was that the rules of grammar were deduced from the Scriptures, while the Scriptures were not compelled to conform to the rules of grammar. He had "freed" the Arabic language from the many limitations (*quyúd*) or rules wherewith it had hitherto been fettered. But why, asks the author of the *Iḥqáq*, should Persian prophets (if such there be) address their countrymen in a foreign tongue like Arabic, contrary to the practice of all previous prophets, and to the explicit verse of the *Qur'án* (xiv, 4): "*We have not sent any Apostle save with the speech of his own people, that he may make clear to them* [*his message*]"?

4. *By "Signs" they understand revealed verses only.*

The author has no difficulty in showing that in the *Qur'án* the word *áyat* (pl. *áyát*) is used of any "sign" by which the Divine Power is manifested, not only by revealed

[1] Cf. p. 254 *supra*, last paragraph.

verses, in which sense especially if not exclusively the Bábís understand it. According to a prevalent theory of the Muḥammadans[1], each prophet was given as his special "sign" the power to work that miracle which most appealed to his own people and his own period. Thus in the time of Moses and amongst the Egyptians, magic was rated most highly, so he was given power to excel the most skilful of Pharaoh's magicians in their own art; in the time of Jesus Christ medical skill was most esteemed, so He was given miracles of healing; while the Arabs contemporary with Muḥammad valued eloquence above all else, and he therefore received the miracle of eloquence, the *Qur'án*, the like of which none can produce, as it is said (xvii, 90): "*Say, verily if mankind and the Jinn should combine to produce the like of this Qur'án, they will not produce the like of it, even though one of them should aid another*"; and again (ii, 21—2): "*And if ye be in doubt concerning that which We have revealed to Our servant, then produce a* súra *like unto it, and summon your witnesses besides God, if ye be truthful.* (22) *But if ye do it not* (*and ye will not do it*), *then fear the Fire whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the unbelievers.*" The well-known saying, "*His signs are His proof and His existence His affirmation*," refers to God, not to the prophets, and will not bear the construction the Bábís place on it.

5. *The Qur'án can be understood by all and needs no exponent.*

It is said in the *Qur'án* (iii, 5): "*None knoweth its interpretation save God and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge*"; and the Prophet said: "I shall depart from

[1] See Dawlatsháh's "Memoirs of the Poets" (*Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'ará*), pp. 5—6 of my edition.

your midst, but I leave with you two great, weighty and precious things, which two things will never be separated or parted from one another until they come to me by the brink of the Fountain of al-Kawthar; and these are God's Word and my kin." So not even the Prophet's contemporaries and fellow-countrymen could without help understand the revelation given to him, though in their own language. How, then, can the Bábís pretend that a revelation in Arabic can be understood without external help by Persians, even the illiterate?

6. *The signs by which each Prophet foretold that his successor would be distinguished are to be understood allegorically.*

The Mahdí or Qá'im whom the Shí'a expect and for whose advent they pray is the identical Twelfth Imám, the son of the Eleventh Imám and Narjis Khátún, who disappeared a thousand years ago, and who has been miraculously hidden away until the fulness of time, when he shall appear with sundry signs and wonders, enumerated in the Traditions, and "fill the earth with justice after it has been filled with iniquity." But the Bábís, giving the lie to all these traditions, would have us believe that Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad of Shíráz, the son of Mírzá Riẓá the cloth-seller and Khadíja Khánim, who grew up in the ordinary way and at the age of twenty-four advanced his claim, was the Expected Imám.

7. *The Prophets are not "immaculate"* (ma'ṣúm).

In support of this view the Bábís appeal to certain doubtful phrases in the *Qur'án* and to certain incidents narrated in the Old Testament (which the author, in common with most Muslims, holds to be corrupt and distorted in the form

in which it now exists). But if the prophets be not "immaculate" and without sin, what virtue have they over other men, and what claim have they to be listened to?

8. *Purity and impurity, lawfulness and unlawfulness, and the like, depend solely upon the Prophet's arbitrary volition.*

The prohibitions, sanctions and obligations laid down by the Prophet are all based on reason and prompted by care for the welfare of mankind: they are not mere arbitrary enactments, and, though they may be modified in detail in successive dispensations, they cannot be altered in principle. The contrary view, held by the Bábís, is both heretical and opposed to reason.

9. *The term "Seal of the Prophets" explained away.*

In the *Qur'án* (xxxiii, 40) Muḥammad is called "the Seal of the Prophets" (*Khátamu'n-Nabiyyín*), and, according to a well-known tradition, he declared that there would be no prophet after him. Belief in the finality of his mission and revelation is therefore a cardinal and universal tenet of the Muslims; but the Bábís, desiring to represent the *Qur'án* and the Law of Islám as abrogated in favour of their own Scriptures and Law, endeavour to explain away this explicit and unambiguous declaration.

10. *The claim that the Báb or Bahá'u'lláh is the* Qá'im *or* Khátam.

The Bábís claim that certain of the signs (such as earthquakes, famine and the like) which shall herald the advent of "Him who shall arise (*al-Qá'im*) of the House of Muḥammad," *i.e* the Mahdí, did actually precede or accompany

the "Manifestation" of the Báb. Now as we have seen above (No. 6) they assert that these promised "Signs" are to be understood allegorically, not literally. They cannot have it both ways, or claim that such of these signs as happened to accompany the Báb's advent are to be taken literally, while such as did not appear are to be explained allegorically.

11. *Denial of the Resurrection and belief in Metempsychosis and the like.*

The Bábís deny the Resurrection of the body, for which they substitute the doctrine of the "Return" (*Raj'at*) to the life of this world of the *dramatis personae*—both believers and unbelievers—of previous "Manifestations" or Dispensations. This doctrine the author regards as hardly distinguishable from transmigration (*tanásukh*) and re-incarnation (*ḥulúl*), but in reality it appears that such "returns" are regarded by Bábís less as re-incarnations than as re-manifestations of former types, comparable to the repetition of the same parts in a drama by fresh actors, or the re-writing of an old story. Significant in this connection is the favourite Bábí designation of the protagonists on either side as "Letters of Light" (*Ḥurúfu'n-Núr*) and "Letters of Fire" (*Ḥurúfu'n-Nár*).

12. *Denial of a Future Life.*

The Bábís deny the Resurrection of the body, and explain allegorically all the beliefs connected therewith. Thus Heaven is belief in and Hell denial of the New Theophany; the Angels are its emissaries and the Devils its antagonists; and so with the Questioning of the Tomb, the Bridge of *Ṣirát*, the Balance, the Reckoning, and the like.

13. *Denial of the miraculous eloquence of the Qur'án.*

The Bábís eagerly associate themselves with the Jews and Christians in denying not only the supreme eloquence of the *Qur'án*, but even in some cases the correctness of its phraseology and grammar. This they do to palliate the manifest and manifold errors of their own Scriptures.

14. *Their claim that the Báb, Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal were "illiterate"* (Ummí).

In two passages in the *Qur'án* (vii, 156 and 158) the Prophet Muḥammad is described as "the illiterate Prophet" (*an-Nabiyyu'l-Ummí*). "This defect," says Sale in Sect. ii of his *Preliminary Discourse*, "was so far from being prejudicial or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it; insisting that the writings which he produced as revelations from God could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable that a person who could neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style, and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight." The same claim, prompted by similar motives, was advanced in turn by the Báb, Bahá'u'lláh and Ṣubḥ-i-Azal; but in their case our author is at some pains to show that it is not true, and that each of them received at any rate a respectable education.

15. *Rapidity and quantity of output of "verses" deemed by the Bábís an additional miracle.*

As every letter, nay, every line, written by, or at the dictation of, the Báb, Bahá'u'lláh or Ṣubḥ-i-Azal is deemed inspired, and as they wrote or dictated almost incessantly,

the amount of their writings is prodigious; while the Báb in particular repeatedly boasts of the number of "verses" he could produce in a given time, so that it is said that ten scribes writing simultaneously could hardly succeed in recording his utterances. The idea that this, apart from the quality of the "verses," is a miracle or even a merit is strongly combated by our author, who inclines to the view expressed in the well-known Arabic saying, "the best speech is that which is briefest and most to the point."

16. *Their assertion that the miraculous quality* (I'jáz) *of the* Qur'án *can be appreciated by the ignorant and illiterate.*

The Bábís say that if the miraculous quality of the *Qur'án* were not apparent to all, learned and illiterate, Arab and non-Arab, alike, its proof would not be complete; and they adduce in support of this view the tradition, "Knowledge is a light which God casteth into the heart of whomsoever He will." This view also the author energetically repudiates.

17. *Their contention that willingness to die for one's religious convictions is a proof of truth.*

In support of this view (which the author repudiates) the Bábís cite *Qur'án* lxii, 6, "*Say, O ye who follow the Jewish faith, if ye suppose that ye are the friends of God beyond other men, then invoke Death, if ye be sincere.*" (In spite of our author, there is, however, no doubt that nothing so greatly conduced to the fame and diffusion of the Bábí religion as the unflinching courage with which its adherents confronted death in the most cruel forms. Compare p. 268 *supra*.)

18. *Their assertion that the Muḥammadan doctors persecute them because they cannot answer their arguments.*

All that the author has to say on this head is that the *'Ulamá* did not resort to violent methods until they had first tried persuasion and offered opportunities for recantation, and that in this they did but follow the example of the Prophets, whose heirs they are, in their dealings with heretics and infidels.

19. *Their refusal to listen to rational or traditional arguments based on Scripture and tradition, philosophy and reason, or experience and perception.*

The author's meaning, which is not very clearly expressed here, appears to be that while the Bábís constantly quote texts from the Old and New Testaments and the *Qur'án* when these serve their purpose, they refuse to listen to such texts as run contrary to their beliefs, on the ground that the later and more perfect Theophany is its own proof (as the sun shining in heaven is its own proof) and that earlier and lesser manifestations are proved by it rather than it by them.

20. *Their assertion that the Jewish and Christian Scriptures have not been tampered with.*

It is implied in the *Qur'án*[1] and Traditions, and almost universally believed by the Muslims, that the Scriptures now possessed by the Jews and Christians have been corrupted and mutilated, especially as regards the prophecies of Muḥammad's mission which they were alleged to contain. The Bábís hold the contrary view, asserting that no people

[1] See especially ii, 39; iii, 63—4; and iv, 48 and the commentaries thereon.

possessing a Scripture which they regard as God's Word would willingly and deliberately tamper with its text; and they take a similarly indulgent view of the Zoroastrian Scriptures. Their object in this, says our author, is to flatter and gratify these people and win them over to their doctrines, in which aim they have had no small success.

21. *Their pretended tolerance and gentleness towards all.*

Bahá'u'lláh's commendation of tolerance, charity and loving kindness towards all men, irrespective of race and creed, is constant and continuous, but the author (with some reason) maintains that the practice of his followers, especially in relation to the Muslims, more particularly the Shí'ites, is very far removed from their professions.

22. *Their adherence to the heresy called* Badá.

The verb *badá, yabdú* in Arabic means "to appear," and with the preposition *li* "to occur to," of a new idea occurring to a person. In theological terminology the verbal noun *al-badá* denotes the heresy of those who assert that God can change his mind, especially in the designation of a prophet or Imám. The classical case of this use of the term is a traditional saying of the Sixth Imám of the Shí'a, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq, who intended or desired that his son Isma'íl should succeed him as Imám, but subsequently bequeathed the Imámate to his other son Músá, called al-*Káẓim*; concerning which substitution he is alleged to have said "*God never changed His mind about anything as He did about Isma'íl*[1]." Thereafter this doctrine became very famous in Islám as characteristic of certain heretical sects, notably the

[1] مَا بَدَا لِلّٰهِ فِي شَيْءٍ كَمَا بَدَا لَهُ فِي إِسْمَعِيلَ

Ghulát, or extreme Shí'ites, of whom ash-Shahristání says in his "Book of Sects" (*Kitábu'l-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*[1]) that all branches of them agree in four cardinal heresies, *viz.* metempsychosis (*tanásukh*), incarnation (*ḥulúl*), return[2] (*raj'at*), and change in the Divine intention (*badá*). The author discusses this question very fully and repudiates this meaning of *badá* as applied to God. He says that the Bábís cling to it so that, when confronted by arguments as to the signs accompanying the Advent of the Promised Imám in the last days, they may say, "Yes, this was what God originally intended, but He changed His mind and altered His plan."

23. *Their assertion that no one can falsely claim to be a Prophet or Imám.*

In support of this view the Bábís adduce *Qur'án* lxix, 44—6, which Sale translates: "If *Muḥammad* had forged any part of *these* discoveries concerning us, verily We had taken him by the right hand, and had cut in sunder the vein of his heart; neither would we have withheld any of you from *chastising* him." This means, they say, that God would not suffer a false prophet to live, or his religion and law to continue on earth. (They even go so far as to say that as the proof of the architect is his ability to build a house, and of the physician to heal the sick, so the proof of the prophet lies in his ability to found a religion; and this is what they mean by their favourite phrase of *nufúdh-i-kalám*, or the compelling and penetrating power of his creative Word, concerning which doctrine see the article immediately following. Hence the Bábís, unlike the Muḥammadans, are compelled to admit that such religious leaders as Zoroaster and Buddha were true prophets. Compare article 25 below.)

[1] See Cureton's edition, p. 132. [2] See p. 330 *supra*.

24. *Their assertion that the proof of a Prophet lies not in the eloquence but in the compelling power of his utterance.*

According to the Bábís the miraculous quality of the *Qur'án* was not its eloquence (*faṣáḥat wa balághat*), but its compelling power (*nufúdh*, *qáhiriyyat*), so that, for example, the Prophet ordered all his followers to fast during the month of Ramaẓán, and to this day, for more than thirteen centuries, this hard discipline has been scrupulously observed by millions of believers. The author repudiates this view, which he says that the Bábís have taught in order to divert attention from the lack of eloquence and even of grammatical accuracy of their own Scriptures.

25. *Their assertion that the Founders of all religions were really Prophets, and their books Divine Revelations, and that only the subsequent idolatrous accretions were not from God.*

This doctrine the author ascribes not so much to the Bábís and Bahá'ís in general as to their celebrated apologist Mírzá Abu'l-Faẓl of Gulpáyagán, who explicitly lays it down in his book entitled *Kitábu'l-Farà'id*[1], declaring that all the religions of the world, Brahminism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and even Fetish-worship and Idolatry, were originally based on a true Revelation, though they may have become corrupted in course of time.

26. *Their assertion that the promised Messiah, Mahdí, or Qá'im will not be, as the Muḥammadans imagine, a victorious and all-compelling conqueror, but one oppressed* (maẓlúm) *and constrained* (maqhúr).

The author says that the early Bábís who fought at Shaykh Ṭabarsí, Zanján, Nayríz and elsewhere believed, in

[1] See p. 196 *supra*.

common with their antagonists, that the Imám Mahdí or *Qá'im* (by whom they understood the Báb) should be a conqueror and rule by virtue of the sword; and that only later, when they were defeated and their hopes and aspirations disappointed, did they evolve this theory of a patient, gentle, persecuted Messiah.

27. *Their assertion that the interpretation of the prophecies given in one Dispensation only becomes clear in the succeeding one.*

The purpose of this doctrine, as of the doctrine of *Badá* noticed above (article 22), is, according to our author, to evade the argument of those who seek to prove that the appearance of the Báb was not accompanied by the signs foretold as heralding the advent of the Mahdí. (The Bábís on their part appeal to the history of Christ, who was the Messiah expected by the Jews, though He did not appear as they expected. The signs foretold as heralding his advent were duly manifested, but in an allegorical, not in a literal way.)

28. *Their assertion that the Mahdí or Qá'im is not merely a Divine Messenger but a Manifestation of the Deity Himself.*

It does not suffice the Bábís to claim that the Báb was actually the expected Mahdí, Qá'im, or Twelfth Imám; they go further, and assert that he is the bringer of a new Dispensation, a new Law and a new Scripture abrogating those of Muḥammad. To the clear declaration[1] "What Muḥammad

[1] حَلَالُ مُحَمَّدٍ حَلَالٌ إِلَى يَوْمِ ٱلْقِيٰمَةِ وَ حَرَامُهُ حَرَامٌ إِلَى يَوْمِ ٱلْقِيٰمَةِ

hath sanctioned will remain lawful until the Resurrection Day, and what he hath forbidden unlawful," they oppose certain ambiguous traditions which speak of the Mahdí as bringing "a new law," "a new Book," or "a new Dispensation," which traditions are susceptible of a different explanation.

29. *Their assertion that the imagined return of the Mahdí, the Messiah and the Imám Ḥusayn is really a re-manifestation of the same prototypes, not an actual return of these individuals.*

This is practically, to some extent at any rate, a repetition of article 11 dealing with the Bábí doctrine of "Return" (*Raj'at*). It is very characteristic of Bábí thought, and I have discussed it pretty fully in my translation of the *New History*, pp. 334 *et seqq.* It was in that sense, no doubt, that Khayru'lláh told his American proselytes (p. 118 *supra*) that "Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Joshua and Daniel are reincarnated and are at Acre, the 'Holy Place.'" In our author's terminology, they hold that the qualities of Christhood (*Masíhiyyat*), Mahdí-hood (*Mahdawiyyat*), Qá'im-hood (*Qá'imiyyat*) and Ḥusayn-hood (*Ḥusayniyyat*), if these expressions may be permitted, are generic (*naw'í*), not personal (*shakhṣí*).

30. *Their doctrine that God, the Eternal Essence, is beyond all human cognizance and definition, and that we can only see, meet, know, revere, worship and obey Him in His Manifestations, to wit the Prophets, Imáms, "Gates," etc.*

This doctrine is also discussed in the *New History* (p. 331) and elaborated in the Báb's *Persian Bayán*, to which references are given in Vol. xv of the *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series* (text of Mírzá Jání's *Nuqṭatu'l-Káf*), p. lxvi.

It is strongly denounced by our author as the quintessence of heresy, leading to an anthropomorphism which oscillates between polytheism and atheism. He concludes this section of his work (p. 279) by saying that this list of Bábí heresies is by no means exhaustive, but lack of time prevents him from enlarging it, though incidental allusion will be made elsewhere to other heretical tenets of the sect.

XI

SELECTED POEMS BY QURRATU'L-'AYN, NABÍL AND OTHER BÁBÍS.

The following Persian poem was given to me in manuscript by the late Shaykh Aḥmad *Rúḥí* of Kirmán, the ill-fated son-in-law and follower of Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, who told me that the poem (of which, so far as I know, no other copy exists) was composed by Qurratu'l-'Ayn, and that the manuscript which I now publish is in her own handwriting[1]. Without being able to guarantee either of these assertions, I am inclined to credit them, for the poem is evidently by a Bábí, and the handwriting appears to be a woman's, closely resembling that of a letter from Qurratu'l-'Ayn to Mullá Shaykh 'Ali (called *Janáb-i-Aẓím*) given to me by Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, and reproduced in fac-simile, with printed text and translation, in my translation of the *New History* (pp. 434—441). The two or three other poems ascribed to her are *ghazals* written in the *Kámil* metre. This, on the other hand, is a *maṯhnawí* of the kind known as *Sáqí-náma*, or Invocations to the Cup-bearer, such as Ḥáfiẓ and other lyrical poets have written.

هو المحبوب

بیا ساقی ای شاه باز فتوح ' ایاغی کرم کن ز صهبای روح '
یکی جامِ می باز سازم کرم ' که سوزد سراپای من تا قدم '

[1] It was enclosed in a letter written from Constantinople on Sept. 19, 1892, and received by me five days later. The writer says that in response to his request his friends in Persia had sent one leaf in "the blessed writing of Janáb-i-Ṭáhira, who herself transcribed some of her works."

بیا ساقیا ده یکی جامِ مَیْ ‘ که از دل رود جمله غمهای دَیْ ‘
حیاتی ز نو بخش بر مُردگان ‘ ایاغی کرم کن به افسردگان ‘
سمندر صفت چون در این آتشم ‘ کرم ساز ساقی مَیِ بی غشم ‘
ز روی مه افگن در این دم نقاب ‘ ذرآ از در [و] ده تو جامِ شراب ‘
ز جامِ طهورم[1] تو سرشار کن ‘ بجانم تجلّی از آن یار کن ‘
چو موسی کنم فَانْصَعَق خود ز نور ‘ نما مُنْدَك این کوه تن همچو طور ‘
بسوزان وجودم همه سر بسر ‘ که از دو جهانم نباشد خبر ‘
به این غم نشین ساقیا می بیار ‘ پریشان مدارم چو زلفِ نگار ‘
ز صهبای دوشین خمارم اگر ‘ ز جامِ دگر بر تو هوشم ز سر ‘
بزلف تو ساقی چو دل بسته‌ام ‘ ز قیدِ دو عالم همه رسته‌ام ‘
مرا از ازل مذهب [و] دین نبود ‘ بجز مهرِ تو هیچ آئین نبود ‘
بعهدِ ازل من نمایم قرار ‘ ز ایمان کنم حُبِّ تو اختیار ‘
چو حُبِّ ترا کرده باشم قبول ‘ بده جامی از من ندارم[2] ملول ‘
کرم ساز جامِ مَیَم دم بدم ‘ که مستغرقم من بدریای غم ‘
نسازد کفایت مرا جامِ می ‘ مرا بر تو ساقی برِ بحر وی ‘
که تا اندر آن بحر غوص آورم ‘ فنا گشته از خویشتن بگذرم ‘
ز عمّانِ دل بشکنم این صدف ‘ من آن گوهرِ جان بیارم بکف ‘
بیا ساقیا شد جهان نوبهار ‘ زمین چون زمرّد شد از سبزه زار ‘
بهارست بشگفته شد گلستان ‘ بساطی بیفگن تو در بوستان ‘

[1] This is perhaps an allusion to Qurratu'l-'Ayn's title *Janáb-i-Ṭáhira* (" Her Holiness the Pure ").

[2] *i.e.* مرا مدار = ندارم

Fac-simile of alleged autograph poem by Qurratu'l-'Ayn.

To face p. 344.

مغنیّ نوازد سرِ چنگ رود، بعشّاقِ دلخسته آرد سرود،
برون شو تو ساقی از این پیرهن، قمیصِ بهشتی در آور بتن،
عبیر از سرِ گیسوی حوریان، بسوزان تو در مِجْمَرِ زرفشان،
به اهلِ جنان بابِ عشرت گشا، برضوانیان خود تجلّی نما،
تو از بهرِ خدمت ز خُلْدِ برین، بگو حور[و] غلمان شود در زمین،
برقصِ طرب گلرخان سر بسر، در این بزم تابان شود چون قمر،
شود زهرهٔ چرخ در مه بری، عنان بنگرد ماه با مشتری[1]،
بساطی بیفگن تو اندر زمین، که گوید ملك در فلك آفرین،
بخلقِ جهان ساقیا دِه نوید، که شد شامِ غم صُبْحِ عشرت رسید،
بغمدیدگان دِه تو جامِ صفا، بعشّاقِ دلخسته بر زن صلا،
که عینِ ظهورِ ازل آمده، جمالِ خدائی هویدا شده،
به این مژده گر جان فشانم رواست،
از این مژده خوش وقتِ ربِّ علاست،
ز حق جلوه‌گر آمده نورِ او، سراسر جهانی شده طورِ او،
یکی جامِ می در دهم این زمان، که در مدحِ این شه گشایم زبان،
قبولش اگر نیست این مدحتم، چه سازم که گردیده است عادتم،
ز دَوْرِ ازل منّتم این فتاد، مرا دایه از حُبّ او شیر داد،
شها من بوصفت چه سازم بیان، ثنا خوانِ تو خَلْقِ کَوْن[و] مکان،
توئی آنکه خلّاقِ این عالمی، خدایا تو قیّوم و هم قائمی،

[1] There may be an allusion here to the Bábí assembly at Badasht, where the meeting of Qurratu'l-'Ayn and Janáb-i-Quddús was hailed as "the conjunction of the Sun and Moon." See *New History*, p. 359, n. 2 *ad calc.*

شدم منفعل خوانمت من خدا‘ خداها شد از بندگانت بپا[1]‘
أَنَا ٱللّٰه زنان بندگانِ تُوَند‘ خداها کُنان چاکرانِ تُوَند‘
به امرِ تو شد جمله ذرّات خلق‘ توئی نقطهٔ اوّل ما سبق‘
چو نورِ جمالِ تو آمد عیان‘ ثمر[2] خواندت از لطف ربِّ بیان‘
مراد از شجر نیست غیر از ثمر‘ شجر از ثمر میشود جلوه‌گر‘
بیان از تو تکمیل گردیده شد‘ همه سرِّ پنهان حق دیده شد‘
نبود ار وجودت نبودی بیان‘ نماندی در عالم ز ایمان نشان‘
ز تو مرتفع امرِ حقّ آمده‘ جلالِ خداها هویدا شده‘
تو مقصودِ دین هر زمان بودهٔ‘ تجلّی بهر دَوْر فرمودهٔ‘
نه ختمی که آخر بدانم ترا‘ نه بدوی که اوّل بخوانم ترا‘
در عالم خود آن اوّلِ آخری‘ بذرّاتِ عالم تو جلوه گری‘
بهر قوم گردیدهٔ رهنما‘ پرستش نمایند ایشان ترا‘
به اسمی ز اسماء تو ساجدند‘ برت جملگی خاضع [و] خاشعند‘
منوّر ز نورت کلیس و حرم‘ توئی مظهرِ ذاتِ وجهِ قِدَم‘

[1] The rare Azalí controversial work entitled *Hasht Bihisht* (see *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 680—697) complains that Bahá'u'lláh, not content with making himself God, and even a "Creator of gods," assigns the latter title "even to his meanest servants." It quotes the Bahá'í poet Nabíl as saying:

خلق گویند خدائی و من اندر غضب آیم‘
پرده بر داشته مپسند بخود ننگِ خدائی‘

"*Men say that Thou art God, and I am moved to anger: remove the veil and submit no longer to the disgrace of* [*mere*] *Godhead!*"

[2] These verses appear to be addressed to Ṣubḥ-i-Azal, who is also entitled "the Eternal Fruit" (*Thamara-i-Azaliyya*).

کجا من کجا وَصْفَت ای محترم، عدم چون کند وصفِ ذاتِ قدم،
همه شرکِ محض است توحیدِ من، منزّه تو هستی ز تحمیدِ من،
اگر مشرکِ کافرم از تُوَم، اگر خاطیٔ قاصرم از تُوَم،
خطا آمده شیوهٔ بندگان، شده لطف عفو از خداوندگان،
یکی جام از لطف سازم کرم، که سوزد همه کفرم ای محترم،
ز جامِ محبّت کرم کن مَیَم،
فنایم اگر بخش خود هستیَم،

Though Qurratu'l-'Ayn's fame as a poetess is considerable, I know only two other poems commonly ascribed to her, both *ghazals* composed in the *Kámil* metre, which, though common in Arabic, is little used in Persian save by a few mystical poets like Jámí. Both of these poems are very fine, being only marred by the incorrectness of the Arabic phrases which they contain—a defect only too common in Bábí writings. In spite of this I think them worth preserving, and, though I have published both of them before, the first in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1899 (Vol. xxi, pp. 936—7 and 991—2) and the second in my edition and translation of the *Traveller's Narrative* (Vol. ii, pp. 314—316), I here reprint them, together with the versified translations, in which I have made a few trifling alterations.

جَذَبَاتُ شَوْقِكَ أَلْجَمَتْ بِسَلَاسِلِ ٱلْغَمِ وَ ٱلْبَلَا
همه عاشقانِ شکسته دل که دهند جان بره ولا
اگر آن صنم ز سرِ ستم پیِ کشتنِ منِ بیگنَه
لَقَدِ ٱسْتَقَامَ بِسَيْفِهِ فَلَقَدْ رَضِيتُ بِمَا رضا
سحر آن نگار ستمگرم قدمی نهاد ببسترم
وَ إِذَا رَأَيْتُ جَمَالَهُ طَلَعَ ٱلصَّبَاحُ كَأَنَّمَا

نه چو زلفِ غالیه‌بارِ او نه چو چشمِ فتنه شعارِ او
شده نافهٔ بهمه ختن شده کافری بهمه خطا
تو که غافل از مَی و شاهدی پَیِ مردِ عابدِ زاهدی
چه کنم که کافر جاحدی ز خلوص نیّتِ اصفیا
بمرادِ زلفِ معلّقی پَیِ اسپ و زین معرّقی
همه عمر منکرِ مطلقی ز فقیر فارغ و بی نوا
تو و ملك و جاهِ سکندری من و رسم و راه قلندری
اگر آن خوش است تو در خوری و گر این بداست مرا سزا
بگذر ز منزلِ ما و من بگزین بملك فنا وطن
فَإِذَا فَعَلْتَ بِمِثْلِ ذَا فَلَقَدْ بَلَغْتَ بِمَا تَشَا

(*Translation.*)

The thralls of yearning love constrain in the bonds of pain and calamity
These broken-hearted lovers of thine to yield their lives in their zeal for thee[1].
Though with sword in hand my Darling stand with intent to slay, though I sinless be,
If it pleases him, this tyrant's whim, I am well content with his tyranny.
As in sleep I lay at the break of day that cruel charmer came to me,
And in the grace of his form and face the dawn of the morn I seemed to see.
The musk of Cathay might perfume gain from the scent those fragrant tresses rain,

[1] This poem is presumably addressed to the Báb.

While his eyes demolish a faith in vain attacked by the pagans of Tartary[1].
With you, who contemn both love and wine[2] for the hermit's cell and the zealot's shrine,
What can I do, for our Faith divine you hold as a thing of infamy?
The tangled curls of thy darling's hair, and thy saddle and steed are thy only care;
In thy heart the Absolute hath no share, nor the thought of the poor man's poverty.
Sikandar's[3] pomp and display be thine, the *Qalandar's*[4] habit and way be mine;
That, if it please thee, I resign, while this, though bad, is enough for me.
Pass from the station of "I" and "We," and choose for thy home Nonentity,
For when thou hast done the like of this, thou shalt reach the supreme Felicity.

The second of these two odes or *ghazals* is as follows:

لَمَعَاتُ وَجْهِكَ أَشْرَقَتْ وَ شِعَاعُ طَلْعَتِكَ ٱعْتَلَى
ز چه رو أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ نزنی بزن كه بَلَى بَلَى
بجوابِ طبلِ أَلَسْتِ تو ز ولا چه كوسِ بلای زدند
همه خيمه زد بدرِ دلم سپهِ غم و حشمِ بلا

من و عشقِ آن مهِ خوبرو كه چو شد صلای بلا برو
بنشاط و قهقهه شد فرو كه أَنَا ٱلشَّهِيدُ بكربلا

[1] *i.e.* the religion of Islám, which, having survived the terrible Tartar or Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, fell before the Báb.

[2] "Love and wine" are to be understood here in a mystical sense.

[3] Alexander the Great.

[4] A *Qalandar* is a kind of *darwísh* or religious mendicant.

چو شنید نالهٔ مرگِ من پیِ سازِ من شد و برگِ من
فَمَشَی إِلَیَّ مُهَرْوِلاً و بَکَی عَلَیَّ مُجَلْجِلا
جه شود که آتشِ حیرتی زنیَم بقُلّهٔ طورِ دل
فَسَکَکْتَهُ وَ دَکَکْتَهُ مُتَدَکْدِکاً مُتَزَلْزِلا
پیِ خوانِ دعوتِ عشقِ او همه شب ز خیل کروبیان
رسد این صفیرِ مهیمنی که گروهِ غمزده الصّلا
تو چه فِلْسِ ماهیِ حیرتی که زنی ببحرِ وجود دم
بنشین چو طاهره دم بدم بشنو خروش نهنگِ لا

(*Translation.*)

The effulgence of thy face flashed forth and the rays of thy visage arose on high;
Then speak the word, "*Am I not your Lord?*" and "*Thou art, Thou art!*" we will all reply[1].
Thy trumpet-call "*Am I not?*" to greet how loud the drums of affliction[2] beat!
At the gates of my heart there tramp the feet and camp the hosts of calamity.
That fair moon's love is enough, I trow, for me, for he laughed at the hail[3] of woe,
And triumphant cried, as he sunk below, "The Martyr of Karbalá am I[4]!"

[1] See *Qur'án* vii, 171. The meaning is, "If you claim to be God, we will all accept your claim."

[2] There is a play on the word *balá*, which means "yea" and also "affliction."

[3] *Ṣalá*, which I have translated "hail," means a general invitation or summons.

[4] *i.e.* the Imám Ḥusayn, of whom several of the Bábí leaders claimed to be a "Return." See p. 338 *supra*.

When he heard my death-dirge drear, for me he prepared, and arranged my gear for me;
He advanced to mourn at my bier for me, and o'er me wept right bitterly.
What harm if thou with the fire of amaze should'st set my Sinai-heart ablaze,
Which thou first mad'st fast in a hundred ways but to shake and shatter so ruthlessly?
To convene the guests to his feast of love all night from the angel host above
Peals forth this summons ineffable, "Hail, sorrow-stricken fraternity!"
Can a scale of the fish of amaze like thee aspire to enquire of Being's Sea?
Sit mute like Ṭáhira, hearkening to the whale of "No" and its ceaseless sigh[1].

There is another Bábí poem in the same metre and rhyme which is sometimes ascribed to Qurratu'l-'Ayn, but more often, and with greater probability, to Nabíl of Zarand, who at one time advanced a "claim" on his own behalf, but afterwards became the devoted follower and, if the term may be permitted, the poet-laureate of Bahá'u'lláh. This poem I published with a prose translation in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 323—5, together with another, a *tarkíb-band* of unknown authorship, in praise of Bahá'u'lláh. Its boastful character may be judged by the three following verses, which are not devoid of a certain grandeur:

چو کسی طریقِ مرا رود کنمش ندا که خبر شود
که هر آنکه عاشقِ من شود نرهد ز محنت و ابتلا

[1] *i.e.* "Thou art a mere tiny scale on the smallest fish of the Ocean of Being, and even the Leviathans of that Ocean can but proclaim their own insignificance and non-existence."

كسی ار نكرد اطاعتم نگرفت حبلِ ولایتم
كنمش بعید ز ساحتم دهمش ز قهر ببادِ لا
صمدم ز عالمِ سرمدم احدم ز كشورِ لا حدم
پیِ اهلِ افئده آمدم و هُمُوا إِلَیَّ لَمُقْبِلا

(*Translation.*)

If anyone walks in my path I will cry to him that he may be warned
That whoever becomes my lover shall not escape from sorrow and affliction.
If anyone obeys me not and does not grasp the cord of my protection[1]
I will drive him far from my sanctuary, I will cast him in wrath to the winds of "No[2]."
I am Eternal from the Everlasting World; I am the One from the Realms of the Limitless;
I am come [to seek for] the people of the Spirit, and towards me indeed do they advance[3].

Yet a fourth poem in the same rhyme and *Kámil* metre, of uncertain authorship, occurs in a manuscript (**BBP. 7**) which I brought back from Persia, and which is described in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1892, pp. 444—9; and I have copies of several more contained in a manuscript bearing the class-mark **P. 92** kindly lent to me many years ago by the late M. Ch. Schefer, to whom it belonged. Indeed it would be easy to compile a fair-sized anthology of Bábí poems, but in

[1] Or Saintship, for *Wiláyat* has both meanings. Amongst the Arabs he who would seek the protection of some great Shaykh or Amír catches hold of one of the cords of his tent, crying *Aná dakhíluk!* "I place myself under thy protection!"

[2] Not-Being, or Negation, or Annihilation.

[3] The Arabic words with which this line concludes are, as is too often the case with the Bábís, hopelessly ungrammatical.

this place I shall only add two of the best, both by Nabíl. The first is a very fine address to Bahá'u'lláh, in the same *Kámil* metre for which the Bábís show so marked a predilection. The following English rendering of the five opening verses, intended to give some idea of the form as well as the sense of the original, was read before the Persia Society on April 26, 1912, and was afterwards published for them by Mr John Hogg of 13, Paternoster Row.

Though the Night of Parting endless seem as thy night-black hair, Bahá, Bahá,
Yet we meet at last, and the gloom is past in thy lightning's glare, Bahá, Bahá!
To my heart from thee was a signal shown that I to all men should make known
That they, as the ball to the goal doth fly, should to thee repair, Bahá, Bahá!
At this my call from the quarters four men's hearts and souls to thy quarters pour:
What, forsooth, could attract them more than that region fair, Bahá, Bahá?
The World hath attained to Heaven's worth, and a Paradise is the face of earth
Since at length thereon a breeze hath blown from thy nature rare, Bahá, Bahá!
Bountiful art thou, as all men know: at a glance two Worlds thou would'st e'en bestow
On the suppliant hands of thy direst foe, if he makes his prayer, Bahá, Bahá!

من مقالات نبیل بهآء الله علیه

شبِ هجر گرچه طویل شد چو سیاه موت بها بها
فلك اللّقا كه تمام شد ز بروقِ روت بها بها

بدلم شد از تو اشارتی که دهم بخلق بشارتی
که بسر روند چو گویها همگی بکوت بها بها
ز بشارتم ز چهار سو دل و جان بسوی تو کرد رو
بکجا رود دل و جان اگر ندود بسوت بها بها
همه ارض خُلْدِ برین شده چو بهشتِ روی زمین شده
چو بوَی وزیده نسیمی از نسماتِ خوت بها بها
توئی آن کریم که بی حذر دو جهان دهیش بیك نظر
شود ار بشطرِ تو مرتفع دو کفِ عدوت بها بها
توئی آن قلندرِ پرده‌در که نهی قدم چو سوی سفر
سرِ خسروانِ جهان بود عوضِ کدوت بها بها
دو هزار کوثرِ پُر طرب بدرِ تو آمده تشنه لب
بامیدِ آنکه دو قطرهٔ رسدش ز جوت بها بها
چه الوهیان معظّمی چه ربوبیان مکرّمی
که شده بصورتِ خادمی که کشد سبوت بها بها
ز لهیبت ای شررِ سنا همه آب شد هکلِ غنا
که بدین سبب شود آشنا بلب و گلوت بها بها
همه خلق طالبِ کوی تو همه رویهاست بسوی تو
ولی از فروغِ تو گُم شده رهِ جستجوت بها بها
شده هر کسی بَیِ مطلبی بودش سرور بمذهبی
تو مرا شرابی و مشربی من و گفتگوت بها بها
ز شمیم مُوت حیاتِ من ز فراقِ روت مماتِ من
تو قیامِ من تو صلاتِ من تو مرا قنوت بها بها

بفدای تو سر و جانِ من تو نهانِ من تو عیانِ من
تو لسانِ من تو بیانِ من تو مرا سکوت بها بها
دل ازین و آن همه کنده‌ام که ترا غلامم و بنده‌ام
که نموده باقی و زنده‌ام روحاتِ بوت بها بها
که مرا شرر بجگر زده که مرا ببحر و ببر زده
بدلم هزار شرر زده نغماتِ هوت بها بها
ز منت مباد بدل غمی که مرا بود بتو خرّمی
تو مرا چو قلزمِ اعظمی منمت چو حوت بها بها
بدلم بوَز نفحاتِ خود شررم زن از لحظاتِ خود
که شوم بذات و صفاتِ خود ز تو لا یفوت بها بها
مستان ز من جذباتِ خود ز خودم بران نغماتِ خود
که شوم بوقتِ ممات خود بتو لا یموت بها بها
ز تو خواهم ای شهِ بی قرین ز تو خواهم ای دو رخ آذرین
که بحُبِّ خود دمِ آخرین دهَیم ثبوت بها بها

من مقالات جناب نبیل بهآء الله علیه

بیار ساقی شرابِ روحا بساز مطرب سرودِ ورقا
که عقل‌را این برد بتاراج که هوش‌را آن دهد بیغما
ملول گشتم ز زندگانی کرا بگویم غمِ نهانی
نگارِ جانی بیا زمانی نقاب بفگن ز روی زیبا
نهالِ غمرا بود تعلّی نیابد این دل ز کس تسلّی
ز مشرقِ ذات کن تجلّی که تا بسوزد حجابِ اسما

چو روح معنی بتن رهین است کجا نصیبش مَی یقین است
کسی که چشمِ دلش دوبین است یقین دو بیند مسیح و موسی
اگر نتابد جمالِ جانان دلی ننوشد شرابِ ایقان
بیا تو عاشق بمحفلِ جان که سرّ وحدت شود هویدا
سبای معنی شده است مظلم تو هدهد آسا بشو مصمّم
بزن صلائی باهلِ عالم که جلوه‌گر شد جمالِ اعلَی
دلا بهم زن بساطِ ناموس مساز خودرا بغیر مأنوس
ز مشرقِ جان جمالِ قدّوس پدید آمد دَنَی تَدَلَّی[1]
هلا سرافیل دمید در صور شدند جانها ز قبر محشور
فتاد برقع ز طلعتِ نور بنوریان زن صفیرِ بُشْرَی
خرابِ عالم نشد عمارت بروح قدسی شد این اشارت
که سروِ جان‌را بده بشارت رسید وقت لقای ابهَی
دلِ تو زاهد شده مکدّر که می نبینی جمالِ دلبر
ز اسم بگذر برسم منگر که ظاهر آمد رخ مسمّا
کنون بگویم سرِ نهانی که واله آید ازو جهانی
صبا گذر کن بشادمانی بسمتِ کعبه سوی کلیسا
بگیر عطری از آن مجعّد ز کفر و ایمان بشو مجرّد
بگو که آمد مهین محمّد ز چرخ چارم رسید عیسَی
براهِ کعبه عبث مپوئید ز کیشِ رهبان دگر مگوئید
ز کعبه و دیر دگر مجوئید جمالِ احمد رخِ مسیحا

[1] *Qur'án* liii, 8.

مرو بهر در تو لا اُبالی که تا بری پی برمزِ عالی
پری جمالی قمر مثالی نمود از غیب جمال اجلَی
مپوی دیگر رهِ سلامت مجو ز محشر دگر علامت
شد از قیامش بپا قیامت شد از ظهورش نشور کُبْرَی
ظهورِ موعود مُعیّن آمد بصد براهین مبرهن آمد
ز قدّ و لعلش معیّن آمد مَعینِ کوثر درختِ طُوبَی
اگر بکویش تو راه جوئی بساز اوّل ز خون وضوئی
بزن بعالم صفیرِ هوئی مشو معطّل شتاب بابا
که تا بریمت بر آستانی که کس ندارد ز وی نشانی
که ریزد آنجا ز ناتوانی روانِ سیمرغ جناح عنقا
به بینی آنجا جمالِ مهوش که از جمالش درخشد آتش
دگر بلوح سخن قلم کش که سوزد اینجا زبانِ گویا

There is another poem by Nabíl which, though singularly devoid of literary merit, is valuable for its contents, since it gives a chronology of Bahá'u'lláh's life from his birth on Muḥarram 2, 1233 (= Nov. 12, 1817) to his arrival at 'Akká on the 12th of Jumádá 1, 1285 (= Aug. 30, 1868). This poem, which comprises 19 stanzas, was written a year and four months later, in Shábán, 1286 (= Nov.–Dec. 1869), when Bahá'u'lláh was 54 years of age, and Nabíl himself, as he informs us in the last stanza, just 40, so that he must have been born about 1246/1830–1. The dates given in this poem, which I published with a translation in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1889, pp. 983—990, agree for the most part with those given by Mírzá Muḥammad Jawád in the first section of this book.

Muḥammadan compilers of anthologies and memoirs of poets generally ignore the Bábí poets, but a short notice is devoted to Qurratu'l-'Ayn in the *Tadhkiratu'l-Khawátín*, or "Memoirs of illustrious women," lithographed at Bombay in 1306/1888, pp. 155—157. It contains, however, no new facts.

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